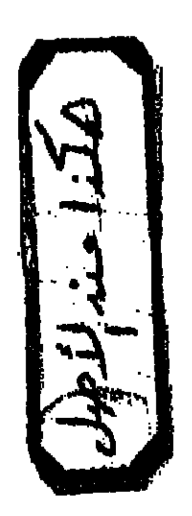


The German Tribune

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Will Thoughts of Chairman Mao outlive the man?

DIE WELT
UNABHÄNGIGE TAGESZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

Who fired first on the Ussuri? The truth will probably never be known but even at the time there were indications that Moscow had foreign and Peking domestic policy motives for the frontier incidents.

The ninth Chinese Communist Party congress, finally convened by the group around Mao Tse-tung, has brought confirmation of the suspected Chinese motives. The anti-Soviet campaign of recent weeks was intended to consolidate the party.

The congress is long overdue. According to the constitution delegates should have been elected in 1961 and meetings held once a year, but ever since the failure of the Great Leap Forward in 1959 the party has, so Peking's propaganda machine claims, been in the grips of a life-and-death power and policy struggle. Camouflaged as the Cultural Revolution this struggle came to a head.

For the time being Mao Tse-tung has won. The anti-Maoist, anti-party clique attacked by Chairman Mao and his disciples has been overthrown. The leader of this group was China's Khrushchev, President Liu Shao-chi.

After the purges and defamation campaigns only 55 of the 172 Central Committee members were rated absolutely loyal to Mao by last summer. Twenty-three of the 29 *gauleiters* of the provincial committees have been dismissed and four of the First Secretaries of the six regional bureaux, which each control several provinces, have been stripped of their powers.

Purges in the armed forces have been equally thorough. Nine of the fourteen highest-ranking officers of the General Staff have sunk into oblivion and seven of the nine highest-ranking political commissars in the extremely important political department of the army have receded into the background. A mere eleven of the 38 commanders of regional and provincial general staffs are still approved of by the propaganda machine.

With the power situation in the army as unclear as it is, there can be no saying with any certainty, however, whether the generals and officers who have faded into the background have in fact been cashiered. Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Chinese Communist Party for 35 years, is now rendering account to the civilian wing of the party.

What kind of a gathering is the Peking congress? The group around Mao Tse-tung has definitely manipulated the selection of delegates. Similar methods were successfully employed at the crucial August 1966 meeting of the Central Committee, the session that led to the Cultural Revolution.

On that occasion revolutionary staff and students of Peking universities were present, the elite of the subsequent Red Guards. The present delegates consist, according to the communique, of workers, peasants, soldiers, Red Guards and comrades of the party and the frontier guards with the services they have newly rendered – a reference, no doubt, to the Ussuri incidents.

According to the constitution the 1,512 delegates have to be elected but the Cultural Revolution has abolished the bourgeois electoral system and replaced it by a kind of popular spontaneity along the lines of the Paris Commune.

Peking propaganda describes what this is supposed to mean in the following terms: "In the past the organs of power and their officials were voted into office. The new revolutionary organs of power were created in a revolutionary movement."

Delegates to the congress have been sent by the provincial and municipal revolutionary committees. In these committees power is exercised by staff officers and garrison commanders who run the country on model military lines.

There is no way of telling how great the influence of unideological professional officers is in relation to the power of the political officers who head party committees. The party has, at any rate, survived in the army and its military wing is now to take on the reconstruction of the civilian machine.

The new constitution submitted to the congress is based entirely on personal loyalty to the person of Mao Tse-tung, a principle that is in line with the Maoisation of the army vigorously undertaken by Defence Minister Lin Piao.

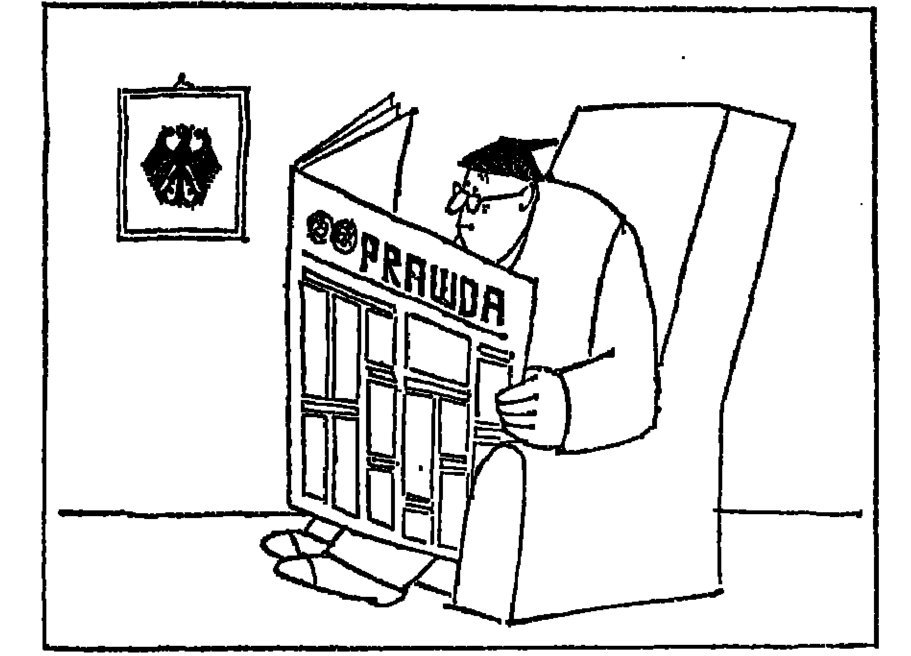
Members of the armed forces are to consider themselves no longer as soldiers of China but as disciples of Chairman Mao, not as defenders of the state but as bodyguards of the leader. In the party too legality is to be replaced by loyalty and the spirit of the law to give way to the spirit of camp followers.

In the event of Mao's death this loyalty to an individual reverts to his successor, Lin Piao. The enthroning of the crown prince, which at certain stages of the Cultural Revolution appeared to be its sole purpose, is anchored in the new party constitution — something entirely new for a Communist Party.

In the field of foreign policy the con- [illegible] The preamble to the new party constitution expressly states that the Chinese Communist Party will fight until the downfall of US imperialism and the revisionism led by the Soviet renegade clique. The rift between Peking and Moscow would thus seen to be final, at least as long as Mao lives.

Too much has happened in China in recent years for a new party constitution to be enough to iron out difficulties. In all probability the officials overthrown in the course of the Cultural Revolution are still alive and can be expected to plot revenge, even if all they manage is intrigue. Whether or not Mao Tse-tung has really won will not be clear until after his death.

Hans Wilhelm Vahlefeld
(DIE WELT, 4 April 1969)



'They're slacking! Still no word of West German troops on the Ussuri!'
(Cartoon: Wolter/DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT)

Mao's lunatic cannibals sling mud at rabid Soviet brigands

Leaving aside for a moment the caution exercised by the two major communist powers, as evidenced by the Soviet Union's latest attempt to operate preferably through diplomatic channels, the frontier incidents on the Ussuri have triggered off real hate campaigns in both Russia and China, adding further frank [illegible] bandied to and fro between the leading heirs of Lenin.

The Chinese appear to have become enamoured of the term "fascist" in describing their comrades in the Kremlin. In a commentary released by *Hsinhua*, the official New China news agency, Leonid Brezhnev's tenet of limited sovereignty for socialist states is classed as an out-and-out fascist theory that well stands up to comparison with the plans of Hitler and his former Japanese allies.

The occupation of Czechoslovakia is described as a coarse social-imperialist farce, the authors of which bear fascist traits. The men in the Kremlin, it is argued, are neither Marxist-Leninists nor simply sinister bourgeois but a band of rabid social-fascist brigands.

Soviet propaganda has not taken these accusation lying down. *Ogonyok*, a high-circulation illustrated weekly, calls Mao a *führer* who is prepared to massacre millions of people. The interpretation of Chinese indignation provided by *Ogonyok* is also of a very low order even by Soviet propaganda standards.

[illegible] lunatic, cannibalistic, [illegible] ideas of Mao, the self-appointed supreme leader, have put a spell on millions of Chinese. Let Chinese die, let millions of people of other nationalities be massacred in order that the mad ideas of the Chinese leader may triumph!" the Soviet magazine declaims.

But *Ogonyok* consoles Soviet readers with the thought that "this lunacy, this disastrous idea means first and foremost the downfall of the Mao clique and the entire servile mob intoxicated by Maoism."

These are strong words. They are also examples of the irrationality of politicians who have always claimed a monopoly of political reason in the form of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Martin Schulze
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 April 1969)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Twenty-year-old Nato still a going concern

PASSIVE ROLE DISAPPOINTS MANY YOUNG PEOPLE

Successes are not to be found in the twenty-year history of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation but in any chronology the entry following 4 April 1949, the day on which Nato was established, lists under 9 May 1949 the end of the blockade of West Berlin launched by the Soviet Union in June 1948.

If this can be credited to the Atlantic alliance set up in Washington a few weeks previously it was certainly the first and last time in the history of the West's major defence agreement that the opposition has withdrawn from a position already held.

In all other respects Nato has been able to do no more than maintain the status quo and ensure that the Soviet Union does not gain ground in Europe. This, then, is what Nato has achieved and in so doing it has successfully performed the function assigned to it in 1948.

The North Atlantic pact, a politically organised defence alliance with the emphasis on defence, has for twenty years borne out the efficacy of the mutual support pledge contained in Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty.

Not everyone in this country will or can be satisfied with the achievement. One calculation made and effectively publicised by supporters of Nato in this country in the early fifties has not come about. The past twenty years have shown that Nato and this country's membership of it, provide security from attack though it may, has not brought Germany one iota nearer reunification.

In a few month's time a man who realised twenty years ago that this would be the case and resigned from Konrad Adenauer's first Cabinet in protest is to take over as Federal President, while the Federal government has scaled down its wishes and expectations to the functions the Atlantic alliance is in a position to perform.

Only a few days ago the Foreign Minister emphasised in a Bundestag speech on European security how important the declarations by the Western powers refuting the propagandist claims of the Soviet Union to a right to intervene in this country on the strength of Articles 53 and 107 of the UN Charter are for this country.

These declarations represent an additional direct guarantee, over and above Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, of the inviolability of West German and West Berlin territory. They must, Herr Brandt commented, be nailed down.

Süddeutsche Zeitung
MÜNCHNER NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN

The Foreign Minister's concern is particularly justified from now on. As of 4 April every member country of Nato is entitled to give a year's notice to quit the alliance both politically and militarily. For this country, the security of which is, in Willy Brandt's words, dependent on the existence of the Atlantic alliance, this prospect is a depressing one.

Nato itself is hardly affected by pessimism of this kind despite the fact that any member can now resign at a year's notice. The impression created by Nato headquarters, near Brussels, is that of a going concern.

Force of routine does, of course, keep doubting politicians and military men on the move and leaves them no time to make a critical analysis of the future of Nato. Nato's product is security and its facilities and machinery are gigantic. The wheels would keep on turning for a while even if the political impetus came to a sudden halt.

Yet wherever the observer looks at Nato HQ, in office after office and conference room after conference room, planning, projects already commenced, national and international agreements at medium and lower levels and above all Nato's joint finance programmes extend well on into the alliance's third decade. There can be no doubt whatsoever that Nato will outlive its first twenty-year term.

European Nato members, who consider themselves to be the most militarily endangered (with increasingly less justification, incidentally, as the atomic age progresses), have reason to hope that their vital interests will be safeguarded.

The United States will continue to station an "appropriate" number of troops in Europe, their strength partly depending on the contribution made by the European countries themselves.

The extent to which the European countries achieve their other ambition of being consulted by America before the USA begins its strategic dialogue with the Soviet Union or comes to decisions will depend to no small degree on the success Europe has in gaining a hearing for its views in Washington.

Belgian Foreign Minister Pierre Harmel whose plan for political activation of Nato as an instrument of Western detente policy has been temporarily postponed but by no means shelved, recently mentioned the restraint of nationalist undercurrents in Europe as a subsidiary role for the alliance.

This role, which Nato could play on its own doorstep, so to say, is certainly a problem of which the solution would represent a move in the direction of the aim of the alliance, detente on the basis of security *and* solidarity.

Europe is not the only sick man of Nato

Even so, it would be a mistake to assume that Europe is the only sick man of Nato. At home Canada's attitude towards the alliance is no longer uniform and a recent visit to Stockholm made by a number of Canadian politicians shows at the very least that certain circles in Ottawa have a lively interest in a more independent course.

Last but not least there is Greece, a problem that military men in this country and elsewhere tend to play down with a frown. Nato prefers to disown it by claiming no right to intervene in the domestic affairs of a sovereign alliance member.

This is formally true, of course, but Nato could bring pressure to bear on the powers that be in Athens with a lighter heart if only the Mediterranean had not of late increasingly become a hub of East-West strategic interests.

As it is there remains the tribute to thinking in terms of power, a habit that all alliances have, and at the same time the bitter realisation that Nato's southern flank is exposed to twofold *danger* — danger from within too.

Greece and its fascist system are continually criticised, and rightly so, by young people but in many cases this criticism is accompanied by encouraging undertones of disappointment with an alliance that for the past twenty years has succeeded in preserving, maintaining and defending the existing situation but has done nothing to improve society and the political situation.

As Nato enters its third decade the governments of its fifteen member-countries would do well to heed this criticism.

Armin Halle
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 April 1969)

Mao party congress will give Moscow food for thought

Frankfurter Allgemeine
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

Seventeen, eleven and thirteen years have elapsed between past congresses of the Chinese Communist Party, the ninth of which has just begun in Peking. Time lapses of this order ensure that there cannot be any question of continuity, as is the case with Western Communist Party congresses.

At every Chinese CP congress the party is different, particularly now that the so-called cultural revolution has rid it of "evil elements, monsters and creatures." Such was the will of ageing Mao, who prefers to be styled his party's highly esteemed and beloved great leader.

The new party that was emerged from the calculated tempest unleashed by Chairman Mao is claimed to make all previous ones appear bourgeois-reactionary. Revolution, Mao reckons, must continue and doubters are revisionists by virtue of their very doubt and are themselves responsible for the consequences.

No one can say how many people have been sacrificed to the juggernaut of cultural revolution. A count has not been made. But prospective cadres certainly remain in China and with the aid of new top-level bodies, statutes, programmes, guidelines and constitutions they can be forged into a new party. Chairman Mao, the leader, is accountable to no one.

The struggle within the party for revolution and against revisionism is waged in exactly the same way as the struggle against the new external foe, officially described as the Soviet revisionist rene- [illegible] Chinese sentiment. For the Western observer this is the only logical conclusion that can be drawn.

In the years that remain to him Mao Tse-tung will stick to his guns. He has branded the Soviet party leadership as out-and-out opponents (which does not, of course, mean that he will not take due heed of the Soviet Union's strength).

Even so, the reverberations of Chairman Mao's ninth party congress in Peking will sound terrible enough in the ears of Kremlin leaders and provide food for thought for participants at the conference of Western Communist Parties in Moscow in two months' time.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 April 1969)

Podgorny woos Boumedienne

Nikolai Podgorny left Algiers at the end of a six-day visit relieved, he said on leaving, "because we have been convinced on the spot that the Algerian government is determined to lead the country to Socialism."

It remains to be seen whether Algeria's road to Socialism under the leadership of Colonel Boumedienne's revolutionary Liberation Army and the political evolution of North Africa will continue to give rise to such sentiments in far-off Moscow.

"The best of luck to the pair of them," General de Gaulle commented some years ago in answer to the question whether or not he was afraid that after France's withdrawal from North Africa the Americans or the Russians might try to gain a foothold there.

The Americans have lost the fight for political influence and economic weight in Algeria even though they indirectly supported and certainly encouraged the FLN in its struggle for independence from France.

The transition from politically neutral patriotism unencumbered by ideology, as during the Algerian war, to a revolution with socialist aims and the methods of [illegible] the presidency of Ahmed Ben Bella in the direction of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism and Algeria's foreign policy headed in the direction of Moscow's.

The final communiqué issued in Algiers at the conclusion of President Podgorny's visit condmns "aggressive Nato naval presence in the Mediterranean" and military bases of foreign powers as obstacles in the way of international detente.

Algeria's revolutionary regime may seek to cooperate with the Soviet Union even at the price of a greater degree of material dependence but a man of Boumedienne's calibre will take good care to maintain his political freedom to manoeuvre.

(DIE WELT, 2 April 1969)

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PUBLISHER:
Friedrich Reinecke

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:
Eberhard Wagner

ASSISTANT EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:
Otto Heinz

ENGLISH LANGUAGE SUB-EDITOR:
Geoffrey Penny

GENERAL MANAGER:
Heinz Reinecke

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HOME AFFAIRS

Political party youth groups get out of hand

WEHNER WORRIED BY YOUNG SOCIAL DEMOCRATS' VEER TOWARDS SDS

Young people and prominent politicians hardly speak the same language any more. So said Hans Apel, 37-year-old Social Democrat, and no one dares contradict him.

For the second time in recent weeks the Social Democrats are having trouble with their student organisation. The Free Democrats seem to have given up hope of ever surmounting the embarrassing provocations of the Liberal Student League.

The Christian Democratic Student Ring is causing at least the older members of the Christian Democratic Union to fear the stirrings of dissidence within their own ranks. Add to this the flurry over the Association of Student Unions whose grants the Federal government has now withdrawn because of alleged revolutionary attitudes.

Is this any reason to get the political jitters? Must we look glumly to the future *because of* these disturbances? Before our eyes a development is unfolding in which the grandchildren are not, as they once did, forming a pact with the grandfathers against the fathers. Instead, they are endeavouring to repeat the youthful sins of the grandfathers in their own way.

This is a statement that young people in revolt might not very readily accept. As with every young generation, they think that a new life is beginning with them at scratch.

Nevertheless, the truth is that pragmatic reasoning, laboriously mastered by grandfathers and fathers in the bloody collapse of ideologies, is being disregarded by a large proportion of young people today. The familiar German trait of dreaming of the consuming, all-embracing idea which is the birth of a new world is breaking through again.

What used to be philosophy is today sociology. What was once a romantic flight into the forest from the slavery of a working world dominated by capitalism is today the no less romantic flight into a protest world, with fiery demonstrations in universities and in city centres.

It used to be minorities, and it still is small minorities, that make life difficult for political parties. In the twenties the attribute "young" was carried like a triumphant banner through the streets of Germany. Young Germans, Young Socialists, Young Conservatives, Young Liberals — Young everything was hailed.

DIE WELT
UNABHÄNGIGE TAGESZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

Young blood revolted in the parties, reformed them or split them, as happened in the German National People's Party. Extra-parliamentary groups of young people opposing the party, opposing parliamentary democracy — that was the final phase of a youth cult which petered out with Hitler and his youth movement, with the ruination of Germany, with expulsion, bombing and economic chaos.

What has formed two generations, what has moulded young Bundestag members in thought and action, is bookish history for young people now marching the streets. No inducements, persuasion or resentful outbursts can change this.

It cannot be said of course of young people generally that they are totally lacking in respect, that they are again thinking in ideological terms, negating the present and its institutions. It cannot be denied, however, that the most active group of young dissidents today is tending in this direction. Many of its members are as brutal in their approach as the militant communists and the SA of the twenties.

Among the parties, the SPD seems to having the most trying time at present with the phenomenon of its restless youth. But Foreign Minister Willy Brandt and Otto Brenner, chairman of the metalworkers' union, who also turned in their youth from the SPD to extreme left-wing splinter parties, cannot really be dismayed at this unrest. Parliamentary leader Helmut Schmidt and Justice Minister Horst Ehmke have more reason to be genuinely surprised. After the war they were both chairmen of the Socialist Student League (SDS).

Let us make no mistake, it would be a heavy blow to the future of this country if its politically committed youth turned its back for the second time on the democratic parties. This would be doubly dangerous for the Social Democratic Party because — whatever the rebels have in mind — in the awareness of the adults of tomorrow a rift would again appear between the working and the academic communities.

In the generation of today's forty- to fifty-year-olds this rift has been surmounted for the first time on a broad scale in the Social Democratic Party. This unity is now at stake. This explains why a man like Herbert Wehner, the Minister of All-German Affairs, should be worried lest the Social Democratic University League lose itself in radical utopian thought, as the SDS has done.

What can the parties do? To begin with, it is vital that they resist more energetically than hitherto the ageing process in party leadership. It is assumed that one third of Bundestag members will not return to Bonn. With much tactical skill and equally determined elbows Junge Union, the youth section of the Christian Democrats, is now vigorously pushing its candidates to the fore — 28-year-old candidates who have moved in on the constituencies of Eugen Gerstenmaier and Theodor Blank.

This is a welcome, not an alarming development. Young politicians who enter the Bundestag next autumn will find it much easier to carry through the much-needed reforms.

Equally essential is that the older generation of politicians must be convinced that nothing is to be gained by thundering at the young rebels, and even less is to be gained by currying their favour. These young people have the right to live their lives according to their own lights. This right, however, should bring home to them that they cannot expect their elders and especially not the state to finance their revolts.

They have the right to make their own mistakes, but the elders also have the right to crack down hard on them when it is clear that these mistakes endanger the nation.

Georg Schröder
(DIE WELT, 29 March 1969)

A profile of Heinz Oskar Vetter, DGB chairman-designate

Just five hours after Kurt Gscheidle withdrew his candidature for the chairmanship of the Federation of Trade Unions (DGB) and left the house, a new candidate was facing the television cameras. Heinz Oskar Vetter, 51, has been nominated to head the DGB after the departure of Ludwig Rosenberg.

In Vetter, assistant general secretary of the miners' union, a candidate was quickly found whom even delegates to the meeting had not thought of previously. The nomination of Walter Arendt, Vetter's superior at IG Bergbau und Energie, was thought more probable.

Heinz Oskar Vetter, who was little known until now beyond his own circle, has entered the DGB limelight. He was born in 1917 in Bochum. On leaving primary school he was trained as a fitter. Thereafter he completed secondary school.

From 1939 to 1946 Vetter was in the army, which he left with the rank of officer. On his return from a prisoner of war camp he worked from 1946 to 1949 as a mechanic for Harpener Bergbau AG, Dortmund.

About this time Vetter joined IG Bergbau and was soon appointed spokesman. From 1949 to 1951 he attended the Academy of Economics and Politics in Hamburg as a delegate of IG Bergbau. Since 1952, Heinz Oskar Vetter has been secretary of his union.

Following his appointment to the board of the miners' union in 1960 he was elected assistant general secretary in 1964. Vetter, who is a member of the SPD, has been president of the miners' trade association since 1962.

Vetter is also a member of the social affairs committee of the Protestant Church. Since 1964 he has been a member of the Economic and Social Affairs Committee of the European Economic Community. He is also a member of the supervisory board of the new Ruhr AG, comprising most Ruhr mining companies, as well as being a supervisory board member of the Ruhr Festival in Recklinghausen.

(Hannoversche Presse, 2 April 1969)
(Photo: dpa)

Kurt Gscheidle's demonstrative withdrawal

Until recently, the proverbial man in the street believed that the Federation of Trade Unions (DGB) was a homogeneous and balanced organisation. The DGB was thought to wield great influence, if not power.

That Otto Brenner, chairman of the largest single trade union in the DGB, the metalworkers' union, enjoyed a special position among the fifteen other chairmen was also well known. But no one thought it would be possible for one union leader to bring the entire organisation of the DGB into such a difficult predicament as came about a few days ago.

The Gscheidle incident opened many people's eyes. It showed that the existence of the DGB as a central organisation is derived and accordingly dependent on the will of its strong member unions, especially on the metalworkers' union.

Kurt Gscheidle, since January nominated as Ludwig Rosenberg's successor, wanted to know where he stood. He wrote to Otto Brenner asking him whether the metalworkers' union, IG Metall, intended to support his recommendations for a reform of the DGB. If not, he would refuse the nomination.

Brenner ignored the ultimatum, and Gscheidle refused to withdraw or revise it. Soon afterwards the DGB Federal executive nominated another candidate.

The new *front-runner* is Heinz-Oskar Vetter from the IG Bergbau und Energie representing workers in the mining and fuel and power industries. After his nomination Vetter said he did not intend to raise the subject of DGB reform at present, although he was aware that it must *remain on the agenda.*

After the hither and thither about an alternative candidate, this was easily said surely. With his refusal to accept the nomination, Gscheidle focused attention on the organisational problems of the unions and brought these problems one step nearer to a solution.

This is in itself commendable. For, thus far the sensitive topic of reform had simmered invisibly below the surface. It is to be expected that reform proposals will be discussed if not at the next Federal congress of the DGB, scheduled to be held in Munich at the end of May, then surely at an extraordinary convention in the near future.

It is of course gratifying and reassuring to know that this country's trade unions are [illegible] organised than many of their foreign counterparts. Many [illegible] may also be indifferent to greater union organisation lest the unions become, as it were, too big for their boots.

Those who affirm the need for trade unions, however, cannot be totally indifferent to how the workers' representatives are organised. In this country the most widely adopted principle of industrial unions corresponds most closely with the system of democratic pluralism that has developed since the Second World War.

The trade union as the interlocutor of the employers' association and of the government within the framework of Dr Schiller's Concerted Action; the union as a member of various self-administrative organs of public security — this demands coordinated action on the part of the organisation.

This includes, logically, a coordinated political and economic programme, and also an organisational system that permits such coordination. It is this that is at present lacking in the DGB.

A federation of trade unions need not be a monolithic bloc. But considerations of efficiency suggest that at least part of a union's much-extolled autonomy should be abandoned in the interests of the unions generally.

It is not enough for the IG Metall to be strong and its members, have much to offer.

Eberhard Starosta
(Handelsblatt, 2 April 1969)



FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Twenty-year-old Nato still a going concern

PASSIVE ROLE DISAPPOINTS MANY YOUNG PEOPLE

Süddeutsche Zeitung
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Europe is not the only sick man of Nato

Even so, it would be a mistake to assume that Europe is the only sick man of Nato. At home Canada's attitude towards the alliance is no longer uniform and a recent visit to Stockholm made by a number of Canadian politicians shows at the very least that certain circles in Ottawa have a lively interest in a more independent course.

Last but not least there is Greece, a problem that military men in this country and elsewhere tend to play down with a frown. Nato prefers to disown it by claiming no right to intervene in the domestic affairs of a sovereign alliance member.

This is formally true, of course, but Nato could bring pressure to bear on the powers that be in Athens with a lighter heart if only the Mediterranean had not of late increasingly become a hub of East-West strategic interests.

As it is there remains the tribute to thinking in terms of power, a habit that all alliances have, and at the same time the bitter realisation that Nato's southern flank is exposed to twofold danger — danger from within too.

Greece and its fascist system are continually criticised, and rightly so, by young people but in many cases this criticism is accompanied by encouraging undertones of disappointment with an alliance that for the past twenty years has succeeded in preserving, maintaining and defending the existing situation but has done nothing to improve society and the political situation.

As Nato enters its third decade the governments of its fifteen member-countries would do well to heed this criticism.

Armin Halle
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 April 1969)

Mao party congress will give Moscow food for thought

Frankfurter Allgemeine
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

Seventeen, eleven and thirteen years have elapsed between past congresses of the Chinese Communist Party, the ninth of which has just begun in Peking. Time lapses of this order ensure that there cannot be any question of continuity, as is the case with Western Communist Party congresses.

At every Chinese CP congress the party is different, particularly now that the so-called cultural revolution has rid it of "evil elements, monsters and creatures." Such was the will of ageing Mao, who prefers to be styled his party's highly esteemed and beloved great leader.

The new party that was emerged from the calculated tempest unleashed by Chairman Mao is claimed to make all previous ones appear bourgeois-reactionary. Revolution, Mao reckons, must continue and doubters are revisionists by virtue of their very doubt and are themselves responsible for the consequences.

No one can say how many people have been sacrificed to the juggernaut of cultural revolution. A count has not been made. But prospective cadres certainly remain in China and with the aid of new top-level bodies, statutes, programmes, guidelines and constitutions they can be forged into a new party. Chairman Mao, the leader, is accountable to no one.

The struggle within the party for revolution and against revisionism is waged in exactly the same way as the struggle against the new external foe, officially described as the Soviet revisionist rene- [illegible] Chinese sentiment. For the Western observer this is the only logical conclusion that can be drawn.

In the years that remain to him Mao Tse-tung will stick to his guns. He has branded the Soviet party leadership as out-and-out opponents (which does not, of course, mean that he will not take due heed of the Soviet Union's strength).

Even so, the reverberations of Chairman Mao's ninth party congress in Peking will sound terrible enough in the ears of Kremlin leaders and provide food for thought for participants at the conference of Western Communist Parties in Moscow in two months' time.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 April 1969)

Podgorny woos Boumedienne

Nikolai Podgorny left Algiers at the end of a six-day visit relieved, he said on leaving, "because we have been convinced on the spot that the Algerian [illegible] country to Socialism."

It remains to be seen whether Algeria's road to Socialism under the leadership of Colonel Boumedienne's revolutionary Liberation Army and the political evolution of North Africa will continue to give rise to such sentiments in far-off Moscow.

"The best of luck to the pair of them," General de Gaulle commented some years ago in answer to the question whether or not he was afraid that after France's withdrawal from North Africa the Americans or the Russians might try to gain a foothold there.

The Americans have lost the fight for political influence and economic weight in Algeria even though they indirectly supported and certainly encouraged the FLN in its struggle for independence from France.

The transition from politically neutral patriotism unencumbered by ideology, as during the Algerian war, to a revolution with socialist aims and the methods of [illegible] the presidency of Ahmed Ben Bella in the direction of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism and Algeria's foreign policy headed in the direction of Moscow's.

The final communiqué issued in Algiers at the conclusion of President Podgorny's visit condmns "aggressive Nato naval presence in the Mediterranean" and military bases of foreign powers as obstacles in the way of international detente.

Algeria's revolutionary regime may seek to cooperate with the Soviet Union even at the price of a greater degree of material dependence but a man of Boumedienne's calibre will take good care to maintain his political freedom to manoeuvre.

(DIE WELT, 2 April 1969)

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Friedrich Reinecke

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:
Eberhard Wagner

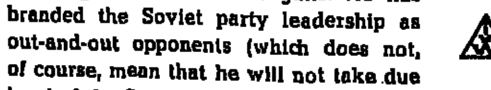
ASSISTANT EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:
Otto Heinz

ENGLISH LANGUAGE SUB-EDITOR:
Geoffrey Penny

GENERAL MANAGER:
Heinz Reinecke

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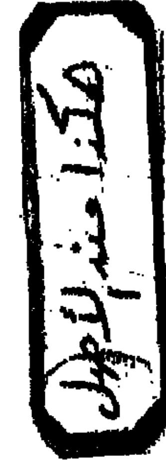
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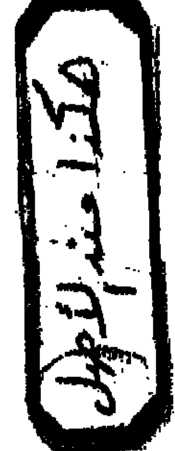


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HOME AFFAIRS

Political party youth groups get out of hand

WEHNER WORRIED BY YOUNG SOCIAL DEMOCRATS' VEER TOWARDS SDS

DIE WELT
UNABHÄNGIGE TAGESZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

Young people and prominent politicians hardly speak the same language any more. So said Hans Apel, 37-year-old Social Democrat, and no one dares contradict him.

For the second time in recent weeks the Social Democrats are having trouble with their student organisation. The Free Democrats seem to have given up hope of ever surmounting the embarrassing provocations of the Liberal Student League.

The Christian Democratic Student Ring is causing at least the older members of the Christian Democratic Union to fear the stirrings of dissidence within their own ranks. Add to this the flurry over the Association of Student Unions whose grants the Federal government has now withdrawn because of alleged revolutionary attitudes.

Is this any reason to get the political jitters? Must we look glumly to the future because of these disturbances? Before our eyes a development is unfolding in which the grandchildren are not, as they once did, forming a pact with the grandfathers against the fathers. Instead, they are endeavouring to repeat the youthful sins of the grandfathers in their own way.

This is a statement that young people in revolt might not very readily accept. As with every young generation, they think that a new life is beginning with them at scratch.

Nevertheless, the truth is that pragmatic reasoning, laboriously mastered by grandfathers and fathers in the bloody collapse of ideologies, is being disregarded by a large proportion of young people today. The familiar German trait of dreaming of the consuming, all-embracing idea which is the birth of a new world is breaking through again.

What used to be philosophy is today sociology. What was once a romantic flight into the forest from the slavery of a working world dominated by capitalism is today the no less romantic flight into a protest world, with fiery demonstrations in universities and in city centres.

It used to be minorities, and it still is small minorities, that make life difficult for political parties. In the twenties the attribute "young" was carried like a triumphant banner through the streets of Germany. Young Germans, Young Socialists, Young Conservatives, Young Liberals — Young everything was hailed.

Young blood revolted in the parties, reformed them or split them, as happened in the German National People's Party. Extra-parliamentary groups of young people opposing the party, opposing parliamentary democracy — that was the final phase of a youth cult which petered out with Hitler and his youth movement, with the ruination of Germany, with expulsion, bombing and economic chaos.

What has formed two generations, what has moulded young Bundestag members in thought and action, is bookish history for young people now marching the streets. No inducements, persuasion or resentful outbursts can change this.

It cannot be said of course of young people generally that they are totally lacking in respect, that they are again thinking in ideological terms, negating the present and its institutions. It cannot be denied, however, that the most active group of young dissidents today is tending in this direction. Many of its members are as brutal in their approach as the militant communists and the SA of the twenties.

Among the parties, the SPD seems to having the most trying time at present with the phenomenon of its restless youth. But Foreign Minister Willy Brandt and Otto Brenner, chairman of the metalworkers' union, who also turned in their youth from the SPD to extreme left-wing splinter parties, cannot really be dismayed at this unrest. Parliamentary leader Helmut Schmidt and Justice Minister Horst Ehmke have more reason to be genuinely surprised. After the war they were both chairmen of the Socialist Student League (SDS).

Let us make no mistake, it would be a heavy blow to the future of this country if its politically committed youth turned its back for the second time on the democratic parties. This would be doubly dangerous for the Social Democratic Party because — whatever the rebels have in mind — in the awareness of the adults of tomorrow a rift would again appear between the working and the academic communities.

In the generation of today's forty- to fifty-year-olds this rift has been surmounted for the first time on a broad scale in the Social Democratic Party. This unity is now at stake. This explains why a man like Herbert Wehner, the Minister of All-German Affairs, should be worried lest the Social Democratic University League lose itself in radical utopian thought, as the SDS has done.

What can the parties do? To begin with, it is vital that they resist more energetically than hitherto the ageing process in party leadership. It is assumed that one third of Bundestag members will not return to Bonn. With much tactical skill and equally determined elbows Junge Union, the youth section of the Christian Democrats, is now vigorously pushing its candidates to the fore — 28-year-old candidates who have moved in on the constituencies of Eugen Gerstenmaier and Theodor Blank.

This is a welcome, not an alarming development. Young politicians who enter the Bundestag next autumn will find it much easier to carry through the much-needed reforms.

Equally essential is that the older generation of politicians must be convinced that nothing is to be gained by thundering at the young rebels, and even less is to be gained by currying their favour. These young people have the right to live their lives according to their own lights. This right, however, should bring home to them that they cannot expect their elders and especially not the state to finance their revolts.

They have the right to make their own mistakes, but the elders also have the right to crack down hard on them when it is clear that these mistakes endanger the nation.

Georg Schröder
(DIE WELT, 29 March 1969)

A profile of Heinz Oskar Vetter, DGB chairman-designate

Just five hours after Kurt Gscheidle withdrew his candidature for the chairmanship of the Federation of Trade Unions (DGB) and left the house, a new candidate was facing the television cameras. Heinz Oskar Vetter, 51, has been nominated to head the DGB after the departure of Ludwig Rosenberg.

In Vetter, assistant general secretary of the miners' union, a candidate was quickly found whom even delegates to the meeting had not thought of previously. The nomination of Walter Arendt, Vetter's superior at IG Bergbau und Energie, was thought more probable.

Heinz Oskar Vetter, who was little known until now beyond his own circle, has entered the DGB limelight. He was born in 1917 in Bochum. On leaving primary school he was trained as a fitter. Thereafter he completed secondary school.

From 1939 to 1946 Vetter was in the army, which he left with the rank of officer. On his return from a prisoner of war camp he worked from 1946 to 1949 as a mechanic for Harpener Bergbau AG, Dortmund.

About this time Vetter joined IG Bergbau and was soon appointed spokesman. From 1949 to 1951 he attended the Academy of Economics and Politics in Hamburg as a delegate of IG Bergbau. Since 1952, Heinz Oskar Vetter has been secretary of his union.

Following his appointment to the board of the miners' union in 1960 he was elected assistant general secretary in 1964. Vetter, who is a member of the SPD, has been president of the miners' trade association since 1962.

Vetter is also a member of the social affairs committee of the Protestant Church. Since 1964 he has been a member of the Economic and Social Affairs Committee of the European Economic Community. He is also a member of the supervisory board of the new Ruhr AG, comprising most Ruhr mining companies, as well as being a supervisory board member of the Ruhr Festival in Recklinghausen.

(Hannoversche Presse, 2 April 1969)
(Photo: dpa)

Kurt Gscheidle's demonstrative withdrawal

Until recently, the proverbial man in the street believed that the Federation of Trade Unions (DGB) was a homogeneous and balanced organisation. The DGB was thought to wield great influence, if not power.

That Otto Brenner, chairman of the largest single trade union in the DGB, the metalworkers' union, enjoyed a special position among the fifteen other chairmen was also well known. But no one thought it would be possible for one union leader to bring the entire organisation of the DGB into such a difficult predicament as came about a few days ago.

The Gscheidle incident opened many people's eyes. It showed that the existence of the DGB as a central organisation is derived and accordingly dependent on the will of its strong member unions, especially on the metalworkers' union.

Kurt Gscheidle, since January nominated as Ludwig Rosenberg's successor, wanted to know where he stood. He wrote to Otto Brenner asking him whether the metalworkers' union, IG Metall, intended to support his recommendations for a reform of the DGB. If not, he would refuse the nomination.

Brenner ignored the ultimatum, and Gscheidle refused to withdraw or revise it. Soon afterwards the DGB Federal executive nominated another candidate.

The new front-runner is Heinz-Oskar Vetter from the IG Bergbau and Energie representing workers in the mining and fuel and power industries. After his nomination Vetter said he did not intend to raise the subject of DGB reform at present, although he was aware that it must remain on the agenda.

After the hither and thither about an alternative candidate, this was easily said surely. With his refusal to accept the nomination, Gscheidle focused attention on the organisational problems of the unions and brought these problems one step nearer to a solution.

This is in itself commendable. For, thus far the sensitive topic of reform had simmered invisibly below the surface. It is to be expected that reform proposals will be discussed if not at the next Federal congress of the DGB, scheduled to be held in Munich at the end of May, then surely at an extraordinary convention in the near future.

It is of course gratifying and reassuring to know that this country's trade unions are better organised than many of their foreign counterparts. Many people may also be indifferent to greater union organisation lest the unions become, as it were, too big for their boots.

Those who affirm the need for trade unions, however, cannot be totally indifferent to how the workers' representatives are organised. In this country the most widely adopted principle of industrial unions corresponds most closely with the system of democratic pluralism that has developed since the Second World War.

The trade union as the interlocutor of the employers' association and of the government within the framework of Dr Schiller's Concerted Action; the union as a member of various self-administrative organs of public security — this demands coordinated action on the part of the organisation.

This includes, logically, a coordinated political and economic programme, and also an organisational system that permits such coordination. It is this that is at present lacking in the DGB.

A federation of trade unions need not be a monolithic bloc. But considerations of efficiency suggest that at least part of a union's much-extolled autonomy should be abandoned in the interests of the unions generally.

It is not enough for the IG Metall to be strong and its members, have much to offer.

Eberhard Starosta
(Handelsblatt, 2 April 1969)

■ POLITICAL BOOKS

A new look at the causes of the First World War

Peter Graf Kielmansegg: Deutschland und der Erste Weltkrieg *(Germany and the First World War) published by Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, Frankfurt am Main; 753 pages plus eleven maps, 59 Marks.*

Ever since Fritz Fischer published his controversial book on the Kaiser's war policy in the early sixties, in which he put forward the view that the German government had been systematically preparing for a world war at least since 1913, this has been a hotly debated topic.

Wolfgang Mommsen replied to Fischer, Immanuel Geiss defended his teacher's theories, Fischer reiterated his views and was contradicted by Egmont Zechlin and so on. When virtually all historians in this country had committed themselves to one or other viewpoint, it seemed high time for someone to discuss the varying opinions.

Peter Graf Kielmansegg, son of the General and former Nato commander and Hubatsch pupil, tackles this task in his comprehensive book. However, he does not simply present the views already expressed but attempts to draw his own conclusions.

Without any prejudices, he frankly investigates all the disputed issues. These include, in particular, the significance of German policy during the so-called July crisis of 1914. Whereas other historians — according to their standpoint — were inclined to accuse German politicians of being responsible for subsequent developments because they allowed Vienna a free hand, or to maintain that they had remained true to the alliance through the 5 July decision, Kielmansegg does not make things so easy for himself when discussing the events of those days and weeks.

He agrees that the policy towards Austria decided upon by the Kaiser's privy council at Potsdam was largely responsible for the following train of events but he does not immediately go on to distribute blame and responsibility for the outbreak of war. He first investigates the reasons why the Kaiser and Chancellor adopted this attitude.

Kielmansegg is probably not wrong when he takes Wilhelm II's anger over the Sarajevo murders to be the decisive motive. The Kaiser thought that the Russian court would automatically take the same attitude as he did to the assassinations and would not tolerate such action.

If Wilhelm II was largely guided by naive, romantic ideas about international solidarity between princes, then Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg — according to the author's plausible interpretation — decided to allow Austria-Hungary a free hand in the Balkans for various reasons.

One of the Chancellor's considerations was *his growing anxiety over the threatening development of Russian military* strength: Russia's manpower reserve was large enough to outdo all military preparations on the part of Central European powers.

Russia's strength contrasted with the increasingly obvious decline of the Austro-Hungarian empire and this exaggerated Bethmann-Hollweg's fear that during the next few years Germany might be in a position of hopeless inferiority compared with the Entente powers allied to Moscow.

The Chancellor felt that his — as is now known — unjustified fears about the future of the Reich were confirmed by the pessimistic view of von Moltke, the Chief of the General Staff.

Moltke, misjudging the reality of the situation — as Kielmansegg rightly states — was firmly convinced that at the latest by 1917 the armament of Russia, which was mainly financed by French funds, would put the German Reich in a militarily impossible position. At this point he expected Russia and the Entente powers to attack Germany, thus involving the country in a multi-front war which it could not have won; so in 1914 Moltke thought that a preventive war would be justifiable.

It was in the context of these considerations that Moltke commented that the Sarajevo assassination was in fact a godsend for Germany. Kielmansegg is right not to attach subjective, ethical interpretations to this ambiguous statement, but to regard it as an expression of the military leader's concern for the security of his country. Moltke was in fact anything but an irresponsible warmonger and Bethmann-Hollweg could not remain indifferent to the views of the Chief of the General Staff even if he did not regard the situation so pessimistically as Moltke. The Chancellor was also anxious about the survival of Germany as a major power, should the balance of power in Europe shift more and more in favour of the Entente and any diplomatic confrontation end with the defeat of the Reich.

Experiences at the Algeciras conference, at when an utterly isolated Germany faced the solid front of the Entente powers, gave the Chancellor's fears a certain plausible background. Looked at more closely these fears prove unjustifiable because the situation in 1914 was not at all as Bethmann-Hollweg saw it.

Kielmansegg makes this point. Nonetheless, it must be admitted that the Chancellor was being realistic when for the time being he saw no practicable alternative to the Austrian alliance. His main concern was to maintain Austria's position as a major power at all costs.

But he thought this position would be seriously endangered if the aggressive attack by the Serbs on the House of Habsburg through the Sarajevo murder was not energetically answered. Berlin thought that successful military action against Serbia by Austria would also strengthen the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and its position in South-east Europe.

In this respect Bethmann-Hollweg was in fact in agreement with his great predecessor Bismarck whose policy vis-à-vis the dual monarchy was intended to have a stabilising effect in the Balkan area. Though Bismarck would not have let things get to the stage of a terrible choice between allowing further deterioration of Germany's international standing or risk*ing a general war.*

Anyway, Bethmann-Hollweg thought that he had to pursue an offensive tactic. Should war break out, he hoped various possibilities would be open to him which seemed preferable to doing nothing and merely waiting.

Kielmansegg discusses the Chancellor's expectations and what he anticipated the reactions of France and Britain would be. The analysis of Bethmann-Hollweg's thoughts, hopes and fears leads him to the acceptable conclusion that the German "Yes" to action against Serbia should not be interpreted as a decision to unleash a European war.

Kielmansegg says that the decision taken on 5 July 1914 "was not a deliberate decision to cause war." Here he contradicts Fischer's opinion but without putting forward the old thesis of Germany's relative innocence over the outbreak of war.

Instead of apportioning blame, he points out that the conviction that war was a legitimate political weapon was just as common in Berlin as it was in Moscow, London or Paris and that in those days every major European power was prepared to risk military involvement in defence of its vital interests. Looking at the events of the days and weeks preceding 1 August 1914, Kielmansegg's interpretations cannot be discounted.

The author approaches the controversial subject of German war aims with the same thorough circumspection and an eye for complicated circumstances, which make it easier for the reader to accept his views and conclusions on the subject of war guilt.

He points out that the Allies, like the Central European powers, were determined to prolong the war until the enemy had collapsed. The difference between the German, at times fantastic-sounding war aims and the Allies' more moderate objectives consisted — according to Kielmansegg — partly in the fact that the German plans remained unfulfilled whilst the Allies' aims were modified to the terms of the Paris agreements and hence had a decisive influence on the post-war order.

In addition, to a far greater extent than Germany the Western powers had succeeded in idealising their determination to win the war even at the price of supreme sacrifice in the eyes of the public. They proclaimed that they were fighting for political progress, for democracy, for the preservation of rights in the intercourse between peoples, against exploitation of the weak and for the right to self-determination.

Germany had nothing to set against this ideological warfare, in fact Kielmansegg says that Germany did not appreciate its importance. These facts explain why, without distorting history, German war aims can be presented simply as a bid for world domination.

Kielmansegg should be thanked for investigating the real background to the war policies of both sides and producing a fairly justifiable evaluation of the facts. The same applies to the other issues dealt with in the book: the willingness of both sides to conclude a peace treaty, unrestricted U-boat warfare and whether or not it would have been possible and sensible to continue resistance after November 1918. This book can therefore be readily recommended to all those who are interested in history.

Alfred Schickel

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 22 March 1969)

Must the Mediterranean become a Red sea?

Wolfgang Höpker: Wie rot ist das Mittelmeer? *(How red is the Mediterranean?) published by Seewald Verlag, Stuttgart; 164 pages, 9.80 Marks.*

In 1961 Wolfgang Höpker published a book entitled *Das Mittelmeer — ein Meer der Entscheidungen* (The Mediterranean — a sea of decisions). In this book he prophesied that the Soviet Union would try to get a naval foothold in the Mediterranean so as to cover Europe's southern flank.

What sounded like ominous croaking at that time has long since become reality. In his latest book this well-known journalist does not discuss whether the Russians have military influence in the Mediterranean but how great this influence has become.

The conclusion is gloomy. Ten years ago thanks to the solitary presence of the American Sixth Fleet, the Mediterranean could without exaggeration be called the "mare americanum." Today there are at least fifty Russian warships in the Mediterranean; admittedly there are still more American ships but the American fleet no longer has a monopoly. America must reckon with a Soviet counter-attack in the event of naval action.

But Russian influence in the Mediterranean does not only depend on the Soviet fleet. Moscow can also list to its credit increasing political power in the area. Since the Israeli-Arab war the Soviet Union has been the declared protector of the Arab nations and to a large extent controls the whole of the North African coast.

Russian influence on the Mediterranean islands, particularly on Malta and Cyprus, is increasing. And in various ways the Russian position is being strengthened in southern Europe, especially in Italy, Spain and Turkey.

All this is backed up by pertinent maps and briefly and objectively discussed in this slim volume. For the people of this country whose fears of the East tend to concentrate on events in Prague and Berlin at present, this book is particularly valuable because it could help to overcome dangerous Continental prejudice.

Peter Grubbe

(DIE ZEIT, 21 March 1969)

A German view of the UN war crimes convention

Hendrik G. van Dam: Die Unverjährbarkeit des Völkermordes. Die UNO Konvention vom 27. 11. 1968 *published by Hase & Koehler Verlag, Mainz. 87 pages, 4.80 Marks.*

In this study the author has set himself the task of examining the aims, origins and imperfections of the 1968 UN convention stating that war crimes and crimes against humanity should not be subject to a term of limitation and of investigating the relationship between the convention and Federal Republic law.

This work, which has already been echoed by parliamentarians and ministers, contains valuable material and at the same time an interesting discussion on the task which faces this country's legislature, namely to decide on an amendment to the clauses of the Penal Code dealing with the term of limitation before the end of 1969.

After presenting the aims and faults of the UN convention, there follows a review of the term of limitation with a historical introduction, as it applies in this country, proposed amendments to the term of limitation, and the relevant laws governing war crimes and crimes against humanity in the Soviet Zone.

In addition, this study deals with the question of the admissability of an amendment to the current legislation in view of Articles 20 paragraph 3, 25 and 103 paragraphs 2 and 3 of Basic Law.

In an additional chapter the author expresses his views on whether the term of limination for an accessary to murder should be treated differently according to the amendment to Paragraph 50, section 2 of the Penal Code. He gives a negative answer to this question in agreement with the Minister of Justice's press announcement on 10 January this year.

A twenty-page appendix quoting source material makes it easier for the reader to get his bearings and to understand this instructive and precise investigation, for which the author should be thanked — not least because of his utterly balanced, impartial attitude.

Bruno Sonnabend

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 March 1969)

■ THE PRESS

Is 'National-Zeitung' ban move a case of Ministry sour grapes?



At least since the party was founded in the autumn of 1964 National Democratic Party (NPD) supporters and voters know who defends this country's honour and conscience. Right-wing radicals thank not only their own number but also a new version of Nazi publicity for *the fact* that this bastion of "national politics and uprightness" (Adolf von Thadden) still exists.

Since the early days of the Federal Republic all kinds of tracts, weekly and monthly magazines have opposed the "spirit of re-education ... reparations and gifts of armaments ... lies about sole guilt which are intended to extract millions of Marks worth of compensation from our people" (NPD manifesto).

The *National-Zeitung* published by Gerhard Frey in Munich led the nationalist press and constantly provoked protests, prosecutions and other court actions. Its aggressive slogans, choice of material and outspoken headlines revealed subconscious but unjustifiable anti-Semitism.

Now the Federal government — still undecided about proceedings to ban the NPD — has decided to take a step into the unknown. For the first time, backed up by Article 18 of Basic Law, a publisher is to forfeit freedom of expression. The appropriate application has been lodged with the Federal Constitutional Court; this means that *legal* argument about extremism in the Federal Republic can be reopened.

But the government is opening battle in the wrong way. Up to now it has regarded the NPD as the most dangerous, right-wing opponent of this country's liberal, democratic order, and has contemplated taking legal action chiefly against the organised right-wing party. But by quickly deciding to limit Frey's freedom considerably, whilst deliberating still further about the action against the NPD, the attack on the *National-Zeitung* begins to look like a substitute move.

Minister of the Interior Ernst Benda has not based the application against Frey on specific reports, commentaries or headlines but on the "overall image" of the *National-Zeitung* which, according to Benda's comprehensive examination, constantly misuses freedom of expression "in order to combat the free democratic basic order" — as Article 18 of Basic Law puts it.

Even though the Constitutional Court judges may find this question easy to deal with, during the proceedings they will primarily have to examine Article 4 (freedom of relogion and of conscience) and article 12 (freedom of employment) in the light of Article 18.

If Frey were forbidden to write or if the *National-Zeitung* were liquidated, this would create a precedent which could set off an avalanche of court cases. Admittedly there is no compelling legal reason why the Federal government should initiate proceedings to prohibit other publications.

But there are newspapers — like the NPD mouthpiece *Deutsche Nachrichten* — which do not conduct the battle against democracy so blatantly, but which are just as committed. In addition this possibility not only applies to right-wing publications but also to extreme left-wing tracts.

Moreover no one can prevent readers of the *National-Zeitung* from finding a substitute for the forbidden newspaper — for example Von Thadden's party platform. The cabinet's swift decision probably indicates that it could not devise a reasonable alternative to the application for a ban.

The Cabinet could have insisted that Paragraph 130 of the Penal Code should be amended so that it also makes incitement against another race a criminal offence. This alternative solution could have been especially helpful as no one knows what will happen if Frey is acquitted by the Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe and returns to Munich.

Michael Bartell

(DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT, 30 March 1969)

'Neues Deutschland' not for export, Ulbricht snorts

Newspapers and magazines from the Soviet Zone will continue to be available to people in this country, without legal restrictions, until 31 March 1971. The Bundestag has unanimously approved the relevant amendment. Originally, newspapers from the Soviet Zone could only be purchased until 31 March this year.

However pleasing this decision may be, it has found no echo in East Berlin. When the Bundestag decided on 1 August last year after wearisome deliberations to allow the supply of Soviet Zone newspapers it emerged that the Socialist Unity Party (SED) authorities in East Berlin had not the slightest interest in exporting their publications to the Federal Republic.

The immediate excuse was, "At present the number of copies published cannot be increased." Then the impertinent reaction was, "The SED newspaper *Neues Deutschland* is not an export commodity." What a pity, because according to a public opinion poll 32 per cent of the Federal citizens asked said they would be interested to read Soviet Zone newspapers.

As 78 per cent of the population have never set eyes on a Soviet Zone newspaper, the SED would have had an opportunity to present its much-vaunted peaceful policy directly to Federal Republic readers. Instead of which SED newspapers remained in short supply. So in West Berlin it was decided that the newspapers should at least be available in public libraries.

This reserve can only be explained by the fact that the SED is afraid that the vulgar tone of its publications would put off many a Federal Republic reader. Lying propaganda would also be brought to light. SED editors are not exactly sticklers for the truth. Nonetheless the supply of local newspapers might help to re-establish certain shattered human relations.

But this does not fit in with the SED's two-state thesis. There is no question of an exchange of newspapers between the Soviet Zone and the Federal Republic. SED boss Walter Ulbricht does not want "the imperialist, expansionist policy of the West German Federal Republic to be propagated in the German Democratic Republic in any form." This he proclaims "in the name of freedom of the press in the German Democratic Republic" — which has its funny side.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 28 March 1969)

New Communist weekly 'Unsere Zeit' tries the soft sell

Even before the first issue appeared at the beginning of April the publication through which the Federal Republic Communist Party (DKP) hopes to communicate with the general public had acquired a nickname: "UZ" *(Unsere Zeit)* is bluntly but effectively transliterated as *Ulbrichts Zeitung* (Ulbricht's newspaper).

But the make-up and style of the journalistic products of the communist brothers are poles apart. There is none of the usual boredom of the communist press in this weekly journal; 40-year-old editor-in-chief Gerd Daumlich says it is to be a real popular newspaper.

Cover-girl refused contract

It will not be polemical but will have plenty of bite; the purpose of UZ is to help the working population achieve decisive influence on the state and the economy. Those who care to read the newspaper learn that ice-skating champion Gaby Seyfert, the cover-girl on the first issue, renounced two million Marks for a revue contract in order to take her Abitur (school-leaving examinations) "in her home, the German Democratic Republic," to study and then work as a sports teacher.

The sixteen pages contain articles claiming that the Volkswagen shark is showing its teeth, that the Federal Republic Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry is transforming individual industrial protection groups into a centrally directed private army, that five thousand Thyssen workers are utterly fed up because they fear that the firm's sell-out of its tube interests will be to their disadvantage, that the right-wing tendency in the Federal Republic is being perpetuated, and that Heinemann should refuse to use his much-praised moral integrity to protect political immorality.

Who needs to be told this? asks Daumlich, though it would be difficult to help him give a satisfactory answer. Perhaps there are people who are not only interested in Soviet Zone ice-skating but also in the advertisments for People's Enterprises and Soviet commercial companies and in a serialised thriller by the East Berlin lawyer Kaul.

The magazine supplement with its coverage of TV programmes in both parts of this country even has an all-German ring about it, though there is no mention of the punishment meted out in the Soviet Zone to people with illegal TV aerials.

"Without a pfennig from the other side of the border," as Daumlich says, the newspaper's headquarters in Essen employs thirty editorial staff. The paper has ten regional offices in this country and in addition the East Berlin foreign correspondents will contribute material.

For a newspaper published by DKP leader Kurt Bachmann, the art obviously lies in the packaging. UZ entered running with an edition of 100,000 two weeks before the party conference of which it is the mouthpiece. Eighty per cent of sales are said to be guaranteed. If this capitalistic calculation proves incorrect, then appeals will be made to readers for contributions.

The fear of a ban provides an alibi for not having to publish all the nonsense which is inflicted daily on a defenceless population on the Soviet Zone.

(CHRIST UND WELT, 28 March 1969)

Catholic weekly goes the way of all newsprint

Hannoversche Presse

The Catholic weekly *Das Wort* has ceased publication. At first glance this is not a stunning announcement — but a kind of subdued revolutionary development which is rapidly changing the centuries-old, rigid image of the Catholic church lies behind this move.

Das Wort was one of those Catholic publications which had its roots in the Adenauer era, that is at a time when Christian Democratic Union (CDU) policy and Church pronouncements were largely identical. So for years *Das Wort* toed a strict CDU line and only recently, roughly since the formation of the Grand Coalition, has the newspaper changed course slightly.

But it was already too late; like the pro-CDU, right-wing Catholic publication *Echo der Zeit, Das Wort* got entangled in the confusion of social changes which have always blurred the familiar image of politically organised churchgoers.

Nowadays there can be no question of a Catholic bloc which votes en masse at elections. All election results indicate that a growing number of Catholics — even in the backwoods of Bavaria — vote purely according to political convictions.

The climate within the Church has also changed considerably. Pronouncements from the pulpit in the form of party propaganda are just as much a thing of the past as pastoral letters with a distinct party political bias.

Today it is not unusual for Catholic theologians to be strongly critical of the CDU and the Christian Social Union (CSU) and to recommend that the word "Christian" should be dropped from the party labels.

And a generation of theologians is being trained at universities and seminaries which is certainly not inclined to political abstinence, but on the other hand realises that a modern Church must adopt a social standpoint independent of all political parties if it is to be a credible institution.

Against this background, it becomes clear why Catholic bishops in the Federal Republic have established a new magazine (initial capital 15 million Marks). *Publik* is to bring new emphases to the Catholic press, one could say left-wing emphases which have never typified any church publications to date — but, apparently in the opinion of the Catholic bishops, emphases more in tune with an *awakening* in the Catholic church than with political one-sidedness.

However it seems that this praiseworthy attempt to at last open up doors on all sides has not exactly been crowned with success. The trend of developments has continued and it looks as if it cannot be halted even by such well-meaning projects as *Publik.*

As far as newspapers are concerned, thinking Catholics do not react principally as Catholics but in conformity with the general consumer market. A newspaper which is published officially or semi-officially arouses suspicion. To this extent the Catholic bishops who publish *Publik* are not a recommendation but a handicap.

But again this indicates the marked transformation which the Catholic church is undergoing at present. Some church leaders may regret that the closed Catholic front on social issues is disintegrating. But this presents an opportunity for the future of the Church itself.

Hans Freter

(Hannoversche Presse, 26 March 1969)



■ ART

HAP Grieshaber retrospective at Bochum municipal gallery

The public menace has become an honorary citizen. The partisan from the Achalm has conquered the art galleries of the world. The Bochum Municipal Art Gallery honoured HAP Grieshaber on his sixtieth birthday with a vast exhibition of his works. This collection has now been taken over by the Stuttgart Kunstverein which has added to it, making it even more representative.

It is, in fact, what is not usually found in the vocabularly of this *Florian Geyer* of the moderns, truly representative. Stuttgart has rarely assembled such a singular retrospective. The last major exhibition was of Bauhaus works.

This great retrospective is devoted entirely to HAP Grieshaber who himself admits that the time has come to do himself full justice in a comprehensive exhibition of his works. The hour has come, which Grieshaber may even regard as the "flower clock" from the Reutlingen *Sturmbock* in its timeless cycle.

The excellent catalogue contains 200 illustrations, of which six represent woodcuts made specially for this exhibition. Also excerpts from speeches and many



praising commentaries. This is not just any catalogue, it will have relevance as a publication beyond the temporal and physical limits of the exhibition.

This book, which aims at illuminating the sources of Grieshaber's genius by way of comparison, was edited by Grieshaber himself. It was published, as always in the case of such ambitious projects, by Cantz in Cannstatt. This catalogue has autobiographical character. It goes beyond the mere informative. It goes beyond the he understands himself.

Grieshaber had an almost shy admiration for Baumeister, whose drawings are experiencing a late renaissance in the Municipal Gallery next door. HAP is not, however, so enclosed in the secret rules of his art as Baumeister seems at times to have been. He is closer to his object, he is concerned with the expansion of his illustrative means and energies.

HAP Grieshaber contributed early to the Reutlingen pamphlets *malgré tout* against dictatorship wherever it showed its head. Now as then he protests and provokes. All around the dome-shaped exhibition hall he unfolds on improvised banners, like mural newspapers, a panorama of student demonstrations. In the midst of these hang the posters which represent not only functional graphic work but declarations in the name of freedom, angry appeals against corrupt righteousness.

Wilhelm Boeck, Grieshaber's first monographer, has a few things to say about this. In the preface to the catalogue he says that it was characteristic of HAP to protest, but that his protest was never an end in itself, was never a "destroyer of artistic substance".

Although Grieshaber has always been a Jacobin at heart, he tempers his revolutionary instinct with the spirit of constancy, achieving a balance between the two. His art in its tough vitality and energy is a proof of this.

The last thing Grieshaber seeks in his art is an aesthetic alibi. He is a political moralist and to some extent a romantic. To find the roots of his art — and this is the great opportunity in Stuttgart — it must be understood why and how he chose to make, as it were, a detour via wood.

Like so many painters Grieshaber can write wonderfully — naturally, untroubled by reflection, lucidly and spontaneously. Writing of his work he says, "The artist with his knife is like the farmer with his plough, the gardener with his spade, the butcher with his cleaver — each is limited by the rules of his craft. These rules permit no limitless, irresponsible adventures. They are nature's system of correction."

Grieshaber still has the blade which he once cut himself from spring steel in a machine factory. No species of wood is safe from him, neither pear tree nor the long-grained, smooth wood of the walnut, which to his annoyance is used in the manufacture of lethal weapons.

He remembers the day when a storm flung an iron-hard piece of ash at his feet. From the resistance of the material spring the challenge and the determination to master it by giving it form. Where the material comes from — doors, bed frames, pianos, barns — is not very important. In this respect, Grieshaber is insatiable.

It seems to be a law that any artist who wants to create in his own right must pass through all the phases and forms which others have created before him. Grieshaber has enormous respect for Gothic wood-engraving, and also for printers. At the beginning of the exhibition he expresses his reverence for Gutenberg.

Grieshaber favours stark outlines within which he feels his way with colour which, when introduced later, is always contained, never overlaps. It is no stain on Grieshaber's reputation to say he is not an impressionist. He is essentially a colour artist; indeed, recalling his *Ulmer Tuch*, he may be said to be a colourful artist.

The visitor leaves this retrospective with the impression of unshakable, stubborn energy progressing consistently from one level to the next, almost progressing, never lapsing. HAP Grieshaber can brush aside the suggestion that perhaps there is too much of him to see, that the eye tires of him. Even before the phrase was coined Grieshaber was pursuing an *ars multiplicata*. Why shouldn't he look in a hundred different directions? Dürer did — at a time when prices were low and there were no commissions.



"A 16 III" (1968) by HAP Grieshaber

(Photo: Katalog)

Grieshaber begins on a simple scale with black figures. He admits much white which is not empty space, however, but a way of finding the appropriate rectangular dimensions for the self-contained picture. He achieves internal movement in the figure.

Gradually, his dimensions grow, in black and white and colour. Deciding between black and white and colour occupied the artist until his *Baseler Totentanz*, but the decision had really been made before then. He treated woodcuts with multi-coloured prints. Still fascinated by colour, he developed a carefully graded colour scale.

This can be admired to the full at the Stuttgart exhibition. His *Arabische Landschaft* is set off by a magical black-blue-yellow. His *Herbst* has the quality of full-bodied wine.

Soon single works no longer satisfied him. The cycles began to appear — the Reutlingen *Sturmbock* as an armed Frisian; the *Rhein*; the *Männerwald*. Then appeared the *Holzstockwand*, a theme with many implications.

In the airy hall of the Stuttgart Kunstverein these cycles, unframed and arranged according to subject, surround the central screens with their framed pictures. These are hung in a way that should please Grieshaber with plenty of space to move about in.

Two themes, *Herbst* and *Berolina*, appear in two versions — in the splendour of colour and in the strictest economy of presentation. They are hung in a way that the eye, comparing them, traverses the whole room, is activated, in other words.

The arrangement in fact suggested itself. The posters lead on to the pictures. The early works are seen in the vestibule and side-rooms. Everything is graded, also in the glass hall where the prints are laid out.

Direction, dramatic direction almost, is evident in this arrangement which documents the life and development of the artist. It is an exposition borne by an internal scheme of things.

Richard Biedrzynski
(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 21 March 1969)

New Figuration disillusionment through art hammers home political message

The exhibition, New Figuration, launched by the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, is a confrontation with contemporary American art seeking to link reality to objectivity. The focal point of this movement is Man, man as figure, as symbol, seen through the sum of experience.

What are these experiences? Sentient experience, fear, destruction. A questing imagination affirms life and simultaneously calls it in question.

Life in large cities is experience, the little life among the teeming millions. George Segal knows this life. He knows the loneliness of housewives, of bus conductors, of the great anonymous mass.

He sees people alighting from buses. The tail of the bus is colourful, the creature getting off is a white phantom. A life in a colourful, noisy world is this colourless.

Segal seeks the dialogue which he suspects in the confrontation of two people. But these have little to say to each other, if he is to be believed.

What is behind this American art that is fascinating the world? What is its real substance? Suffering man, fear, pleasure, the little pleasures, decay, neatly filled into plastic bags (see Joseph Raffael). Human traces collected in a memory. Even the monkey in the experimental cage has left traces behind. This Raffael depicts with precision but also with feeling for the living creature.

Creatures — this is another theme. When Frank Gallo makes his polyester figures he is thinking not of art but of reality. Higgens too is thinking of form with his hinged figures. For him form, reality is the starting-point for structural compositions. He is concerned not with past experiences but with change, flux.

Besides objective affirmation we find negation. Gaping uniforms from the war look like spectral soldiers. Battenberg opens this military grave. On a portion of a wing he hangs a uniform and calls it *Flyer on a Wing*.

He makes an aluminium mould with uniforms, helmets, control sticks, fragments of a military plane. Where is the human being who belonged to it?

Robert Nelson sees perversion and realises it — the soldier with the dog's head, with colt and symbolic snake, with luminous neon rings. Beside him a huge insect with a death's head. His *Buck Rogers* is a military jumping jack on wheels with rockets as wings, with astronaut's helmet, with stars and stripes on his trousers. Past, present and history is mounted here all at once.

Probably we have no real conception of how bitterly these young Americans resent the war, how passionately they join issue with those who are waging it. Wesselmann's *American Nudes* and James Gills' pin-up girls are all part of this mood. The more one sees of this American art the more one feels that it diagnoses death.

This is art free of ballast and bias. Very fine sculptures are to be seen in Cologne by Robert Cremeau who showed his truncated, painted wooden sculptures at the Venice biennale. These are roundly plastic figures on beds (*Bed* and *Striped Whore*), a standing *Jockey* — all partially sawn-through, dissected. Beside these his painted dolls of wood and cloth in colourful chairs seem almost harmless.

These too, however, seem to withdraw somehow from reality. In a sense they contrast sharply with display dummies which they seem to resemble at first glance.

Andy Warhol printed *Saturday Disaster* — a photograph of a car accident, twice superimposed. Marilyn Monroe, shown three times in three rows, in different colours, is not only stylised by colour but also by repetition, by establishing and re-establishing the fact.

New Figuration is essentially disillusionment through art. It is just there, however, that its political function begins.

Doris Schmidt
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 20 March 1969)

■ OBITUARY

Ernst Deutsch, glowing actor of the soul, dies aged 78

Ernst Deutsch, the renowned actor, died recently of a heart attack, aged 78. Throughout his life — he moved from Prague to Germany before the First World War — he retained the freshness and vitality of youth. He was born of that marvellous spring of talent and genius that flowed in those years.

Deutsch knew Kafka. Werfel was his friend, his close comrade at school, his neighbour during the years of emigration in America. Willy Haas, Max Brod, Oskar Kokoschka were his friends from the beginning.

Ernst Deutsch seemed born for friendship and companionship among men. With the stamp of originality on his forehead he was a favourite among women.

He often said that his star as an actor was born directly under the stars looking down on Hradčany castle. Originally, he had wanted to become a sports instructor. He was a tennis ace and junior champion in the then Imperial Austrian empire.

He approached the stage with apprehension. Werfel, whose own star was only then rising, urged his friend to try the stage. It was Werfel who introduced Deutsch one night to Berthold Viertel. Deutsch was given an audition on the stage of the Prague Burg Theatre, and Viertel was delighted with him.

The very appearance of this young man seemed somehow coincident with the "zeitgeist" of the time. Expressionism was still a vague movement, struggling to



assert itself. It found articulation in Werfel's world-embracing, ecstatic poems. Then came the young Ernst Deutsch who seemed to embody clearly and definitely an intellectual movement that was still in its infancy. Berthold Viertel soon summoned Deutsch to Dresden.

In Dresden the new intellectual currents were simmering. Deutsch arrived just at the right time. The play which was to assert Expressionism at one stroke, which was indeed to be the fulfillment of this movement, was waiting for a producer. It seemed to be waiting for this young actor from Prague. This was *Der Sohn* by Walter Hasenclever.

In the midst of the severest winter of the war, Deutsch acted in a private premiere of this flowing, well constructed drama of disunion. His fame began.

When he played the same part shortly after the war in Berlin Ernst Deutsch moved up overnight on to the contemporary Parnassus of the best actors Europe had to offer. After the *Sohn* premiere, Max Reinhardt said, "Since yesterday evening everyone in Constantinople also knows who Ernst Deutsch is."

This suggests the great interest in theatre at that time. An actor who had the good fortune to be acclaimed in Berlin, was sure of being acclaimed throughout the world.

Ernst Deutsch did not dissipate his great talent. Under Max Reinhardt he appeared in many plays. He played Paul in Werfel's *Paul among the Jews*. He was probably the best Dubedat ever seen in Shaw's *The Doctor's Dilemma*.

I saw him at his best with the great Elisabeth Bergner in Giraudoux's *Amphitryon*. He played a marvellously flexible Wurm in *Kabale und Liebe* and was as comfortably at home in the living-room of a Galsworthy society play as he was grippingly emotional as Arnold Kramer in Hauptmann's *Michael Kramer*.

Kerr, the critic, gave him the highest praise. In this exalted language Kerr called him a "glowing actor of the soul." This is what Deutsch really was. He had an unmistakable inner glow. Even when he was very human, when he was very much a part of this world, he seemed always to inhabit another, higher world. If any actor was ever visibly endowed with genius, it was Ernst Deutsch.

Deutsch was forced to leave the country in 1933, to leave the theatre that he had made so splendid. He toured for a while along the borders of Germany, moved then to London where he foundered in the foreign language. Later, Hollywood failed to appreciate his talents in the way that it promoted the abilities of Kortner, Brecht and Bassermann.

In Hollywood, Deutsch did not suffer the misfortunes that befell others. His lucky star did not desert him when he was sundered from his own language, the instrument of his art. He did not fall to pieces. He waited.

Deutsch returned to Germany soon after the war. He appeared in an early British post-war film, *The Third Man*. He won the actor's award in Pabst's *Der Prozess* in Venice, at the first post-war biennale.

No one will forget the moment when he appeared again on a Berlin stage. The play was *Dantons Tod*. Deutsch played Robespierre; his friend, Walter Franck, Danton. The entire audience seemed to embrace him when he appeared. A memorable moment!

He played Oedipus in Hofmannsthal's play. His performance in Odets' *Country Girl* was so penetratingly true as to be unique.

Later, Deutsch appeared in Pentzoldt's *Schlabrendorf* for the first time, proving that now he had also made humour, wisdom and prudence his own. These qualities he evinced with great artistry in Hauptmann's *Sonnenuntergang*.

Last year, he appeared in a guest performance of Schnitzler's *Professor Bernhardi* in New York. No sooner had he recovered from a heart attack fifteen years ago when he became for his generation the Nathan of Lessing's drama.

Deutsch made this role his very own. In Stockholm, Moscow, London and many other cities he, Jew and great German actor, made an eloquent and moving appeal for racial comradeship.

Conciliation, the happiness of mankind — to this end he devoted his life as man and actor. He was never unforgiving. He was a great colleague, a great theatre man who lived for the stage, living his life from one role to the next.

He was happiest when on tour when the day in the theatre never seemed to end and entering a new town was like preparing for a premiere. He lived on the atmosphere surrounding the stage.

Ernst Deutsch appeared in his last premiere only a few weeks ago. Visibly marked by age and illness, he played the part of the waiter in Shaw's *You Can Never Tell*. He was very thin and looked like a saint in evening dress. He was making a visible effort to last through the premiere without a slip.

Soon afterwards he was admitted to hospital. This severe winter broke through his reserves of strength.

The last weeks of his life Ernst Deutsch spent in his flat in Knesebeckstrasse in West Berlin. He was up and around, taking short walks along Kurfürstendamm. The evening before his death he sat, as was his delight, in a cafe watching the people pass by, greeting friends and acquaintances, drinking his chocolate.

On Saturday his heart gave out. Death came quickly, taking from us one of Germany's greatest actors. He was one of the few who was big enough to be pleasant, who left a glow behind, who lived life and art to the full and who, nevertheless, always vigourosly opposed cruelty and evil.

Ernst Deutsch as Nathan the Wise at West Berlin's Schiller-Theater

(Photo: dpa)

This man, it seemed always, was truly the darling of the gods, and those whom the gods love will win the hearts of men. Ernst Deutsch had what is called charisma.

Ernst Deutsch will be remembered as a champion of life and love. At the moment of death he seemed suddenly young again, the manly youth with the serenity of a sportive prophet. Thus he will remain.

Friedrich Luft
(DIE WELT, 21 March 1969)

Rudolf Pannwitz - one of the most original thinkers of our time

Rudolf Pannwitz, the doyen of letters in this country for many years, has died after a long illness. Recalling his character and his work, it seems astonishing and fortunate that both reflect a seemingly irrepressible youthfulness, expressed in his courage and strength to face the whole truth as a man, and, intellectually, that is, in perception, thought and design.

What is truth? That this question cannot be answered convincingly with a definition but with deeds is manifest from the life's work, unparalleled in range and quality, of Rudolf Pannwitz.

Leopold Ziegler said of Pannwitz in 1931, "His world is the integral of all human worlds, in the mind and in the body." Thus, the Hegelian phrase which Pannwitz liked to quote could serve as a motto for his life and work — "Truth is the whole."

It is this "whole," however, that must first be perceived and experienced, indeed, suffered, before it can be recognised in the work of a scientist or created in the work of an artist.

Nothing characterises Rudolf Pannwitz so much as the fact that in 1909, when he was not yet thirty, he wanted to be both scientist and artist. He recognised then as his aim "to become artist and scientist in their most essential unity." Only then, he argued, can "man as an entire person function in the best interplay of his energies."

Such statements can be regarded as keys to the life and activities of this man. Hugo von Hofmannsthal wrote of Pannwitz in a letter to Rudolf Borchardt in 1918, "I was overwhelmed by the presence of a great mind."

Admittedly, Pannwitz's early resolution to think and feel as an "entire" person seems to have been more the admission and aim of a renaissance man than the commitment of a man of our sceptical, relativist and nihilist century. His great originality and undeniable greatness spring from the fact that he calmy faced every form of modern scepticism and nihilism to overcome them in his way.

This way could be summed up as a constantly creative homage to the image of man, to everything in man that is turned towards God without ever denying the elements of the earth.

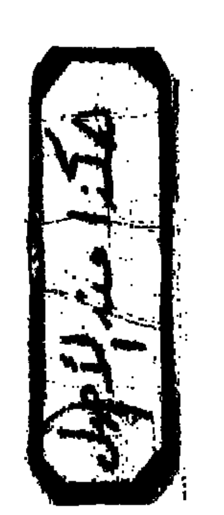
Among Europe's distinguished men of learning, Rudolf Pannwitz — as a "free thinker" in the spirit of Heraclitus, Nietzsche and Goethe, whom he admired — pitted himself most resolutely and with tireless energy against this century's hydra-headed forms of scepticism and hopelessness. It was this indubitable quality that gave his verse and prose a prophetic ring.

Pannwitz achieved this stature without bending in the slightest degree towards sectarianism. His was a free-ranging, liberal mind. He remained throughout his life receptive to the world and its ways, although essentially he was a recluse.

Rudolf Pannwitz was born in Crossen on the Oder in May 1881. He spent many years in Berlin and a great part of his later life on a Yugoslav island. In 1948, he settled down beside his friend and neighbour Hermann Hesse in Tessin.

Today, one can say that it was this intellectually fastidious and worldly tolerant approach that made Rudolf Pannwitz one of the most original, independent and imaginative thinkers of our time.

Hans Hennecke
(DIE WELT, 26 March 1969)
(Photo: IP)



■ EDUCATION

Skyrocketing interest in Slavonic studies catches planners on the hop

DIE WELT
UNABHÄNGIGE TAGESZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

In 1959 or even 1961 prognoses that there would be a vast increase in Slavonic studies would surely have been generally rejected; for schools and the public do not normally think in terms of Slavonic studies as a subject for doctoral theses. Yet despite this fact scarcely any other arts subject in this country has expanded as much as Slavonic studies during the past decade.

The growth of Slavonic studies as a major subject during recent years is all the more surprising since up to 1961 the vast majority of students studying Slavonic philology still came from the Soviet Zone. There they had learnt Russian as the first foreign language at school. After the building of the Berlin Wall people expected the number of professorial chairs for this subject to decrease, not increase rapidly.

The reasons for the increased interest in Slavonic studies vary and close examination of them produces some spectacular conclusions. But it is quite obvious that an important reason was the late realisation of the necessity of comprehending the policies of the Soviet Union and its allies, the social system and the people of these countries.

This need to fill an academic gap, which is noticeable in many spheres, has been tackled not only by schools and universities but also by adult education institutes and by television companies. The latter have concentrated chiefly on Russian language courses.

At many universities and colleges one or two professorships in Slavonic studies have been established during the past six years, often for the first time. The number of students studying Slavonic languages has increased fivefold since 1959 and the number of students taking Slavonic studies as a major or subsidiary subject has increased fourfold.

However, the largest proportion of students take university finals in Slavonic studies whilst only a third want to sit other types of university examinations. This development is due to the fact that in recent years professional qualifications have been attached to Slavonic studies in some Federal states.

Up to 1959 Slavonic studies were only accepted as a main examination subject for prospective teachers in Lower Saxony. But it is now accepted as a main subject in all Federal states except Bavaria where it is still regarded as a subsidiary subject.

The term Slavonic studies when referring to university finals should really read Slavonic and Russian studies because Russian is the main emphasis of the course as regards language, historical and comparative grammar and literature, whereas general Slavonic studies involve all the Slavonic languages.

The vast majority of schoolchildren still learn Russian in study groups, that is to say voluntarily. Those who attend courses include a large number of pupils specialising in science who for purely pragmatic reasons want to learn Russian.

They want to be able to read the important scientific reports on Soviet research methods and results in the original, rather than waiting for years until they are perhaps translated into English by which time they may be out of date anyway.

Except for Bavaria, Russia can be taken as a third foreign language in all Federal states if there are sufficient pupils interested and the necessary teachers available. It is probably not coincidental that in states such as West Berlin, Hamburg and Lower Saxony where up to now most Russian teachers have been trained, Russian is taught as a second language at many schools. (This applies to nine schools in Lower Saxony, five in West Berlin and three in Hamburg; this Easter three more schools are to start teaching Russian as a second language.) These states have also organised school trips to the Soviet Union.

Although this development from scratch within a mere ten years is remarkable, the total number of pupils learning Russian is still a long way behind the number who learn English as a first foreign language and French or Latin as second or third languages.

At present it is difficult to say how much this trend towards Russian lessons at school will develop. But it is certain that the attraction of learning Russian would increase if elementary Russian was accepted as an entry qualification for arts faculties.

The resistance against Russian which teachers encounter from school authorities, colleagues and parents should not be underestimated. Apart from subjective, usually unfounded prejudices the main arguments against Russian as a school subject are: in comparison with the competing languages of French and English Russian is disproportionately difficult and its usefulness is more restricted as, apart from a few limited opportunities, it can only be "used" in the teaching profession.

It would be wrong and it would not do the subject any good if these special problems as regards Russian were denied. On the other hand, it would be equally wrong to declare that these problems are insoluble and resign oneself to them. The opposite is proved by the fact that today there are a large number of excellent Russian teachers who with the help of modern teaching methods effectively teach pupils Russian grammar and phonetics.

But at this point it must be stressed that this development is due more to the personal initiative of teachers than to encouragement and help from education authorities. And if other Western countries enjoy greater opportunities for sending people to study in the Soviet Union, then the Foreign Affairs Ministry in Bonn is partly responsible for this inadequate situation.

Now that the cultural agreement with the Soviet Union has expired the possibility of studying in the USSR is virtually non-existent. Many people engaged in Slavonic studies in this country think that certain quarters welcomed the cessation of exchanges: political groups in Bonn had mistrusted this direct confrontation for a long time and were afraid of political indoctrination.

In order to tackle this permanent emergency, local associations of Russian and Slavonic teachers have resorted to self-help. Further education courses and weekend seminars have been organised. The large number of applications to attend the Russian language seminar at Timmendorfer Strand, for example, illustrates the necessity and success of these events.

In addition teachers and students regularly attend Russian language seminars in Austria at Eisenstadt and Unterweissenbach, which in contrast to the courses at Königstein/Taunus and at the Munich Institute for Soviet Research do not pursue any political aims. Slavonic specialists have always suspected that intelligence agencies send recruiting officers to the latter two institutions.

Other plans to promote Russian have been worked out. In Hamburg, for example, plans for a Russian college have been drawn up, primarily for students without a knowledge of the language who want to become Russian teachers. Before actually beginning their Slavonic studies at the university, students would spend four semesters learning the language, culminating in examinations in Russian.

(DIE WELT, 20 March 1969)

Willy Brandt calls for improved cultural effort abroad



Foreign Affairs Minister Willy Brandt has called for an intensification of Federal Republic cultural efforts abroad and especially for improved facilities for teaching the German language. Speaking to the conference of state education ministers, Brandt reiterated that cultural policy was one of the mainstays of this country's foreign policy alongside defence and economic policy.

Brandt commented, "A nation's standing and importance in the world depends on its cultural influence just as much as on its economic strength or political power." The Minister said that the main tasks of cultural policy abroad were to provide opportunities for getting to know the German language and culture, to promote cultural exchanges and "to foster understanding and friendship by making as valuable contributions as possible towards this exchange."

According to Brandt, teaching German abroad poses a particular problem. In this context he announced that teachers who have regularly worked abroad and then taught at home for more than ten years should be granted leave of absence. This has only happened in exceptional cases hitherto.

Brandt who is the first Foreign Affairs Minister to express his views on foreign cultural policy to the education ministers' conference also appealed for more exchange of assistant teachers, improvements in the integration of German pupils returning from abroad and elimination of the problems which still exist for academics returning to this country.

The Minister heartily welcomed the suggestion of the former French Education Minister Peyrefitte which has been taken up by Bavarian Prime Minister Goppel, who used to be responsible for Franco-Federal Republic cultural relations; the proposal is for completely new type of binational Franco-German school with a joint timetable and joint school-leaving examinations.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 21 March 1969)

■ HISTORY

Exhibition of post-war digs bears witness to archaeological work

Archaeology in this country no longer enjoys the "monopoly" it did during the days of Winckelmann and Schliemann. But it still has a great reputation and the Federal Republic Archaeological Institute can be proud of the broad scope of its work which is of a more consistent standard than that of any similar institute in other developed nations, though in certain fields especially in Russia more intensive research involving far more personnel is possible.

The *Archäologischer Anzeiger* and the *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* are two of the most important archaeological publications in the world. Close cooperation with colleagues in communist countries (through scholarships, photographs of scientific finds, publications and so on) and the uninterrupted, indeed welcomed, excavations in Arab countries — these facts speak for themselves.

When Karl Bittel, now president of the central directorate in West Berlin, took over the Istanbul Institute again after the war, he found on his desk a calendar showing the date on which he had had to leave the institute: a tiny example of the continuity of the Archaeological Institute.

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The Institute was founded on the Capitol in 1829 and on 21 April this year will be celebrating its 140th birthday. The permanent staff includes about one hundred scientists, only eight of whom work at the West Berlin headquarters.

The 32 elected members of the central directorate decide on the work programme, agree on permanent emphases and specify occasional expeditions. Within the framework of the defined programme individual organisers are independent.

Whilst rescue operations are usually undertaken by state museums and the offices responsible for preserving ancient monuments, the Federal Republic Archaeological Institute is developing specific, large-scale research projects.

As well as the central directorate in West Berlin, the following organisations have headquarters in this country: the Roman-Germanic Commission in Frankfurt and the Commission for Ancient History and Epigraphy in Munich. The Institute has also established offices in Madrid, Rome, Athens, Istanbul, Cairo, Baghdad and Teheran.

For the first time the Rhineland Museum in Bonn has organised a review of excavations since the war, though the selection is necessarily limited. The Rhineland Museum with its archaeological relics and treasures is the right place for such an exhibition.

But one of the reasons why this optical report is first being shown in Bonn is to enable the government to see directly what has been achieved. The annual budget for actual scientific work amounts to 2.5 million Marks and is provided by the Ministry of the Interior.

From time to time the Federal Republic Research Association and large industrial foundations provide funds. Surprisingly, there are no complaints on this score. Only once does the exhibition catalogue bemoan the fact that ancient Babylon is "in darkness, or to be more precise threatened by subsoil water" and there are no pumps available.

The pleasing modesty of anonymity in the catalogue (which is attractively presented and includes old engravings) should be stressed: none of the scientists are mentioned by name. The exhibition is mainly documentary. Enlarged photographs, models and casts have to compensate for the meanness of some countries which were not even prepared to lend the researchers a single original for this comprehensive, retrospective exhibition.

Other countries were more generous, for example Persia (Islamic and Mongolian Fayence), Cyprus (early Greek ceramics) and especially Spain. The exhibition includes Phoenician burial vases, a letter in bronze from Emperor Titus and a splendid marble bust of Hispania from the hot springs at Mulva. This personification is not a symbol of subjection but reflects proud self-confidence: Hispania as the mother of emperors (like Trajan) and of philosophers (such as Seneca).

From the Atlantic coast of Portugal to the gates of Afghanistan, from Limes to the Sudan, from Uruk, the city of the earliest writing, to the first Islamic law school in the Middle Ages: a panorama covering thousands of miles and thousands of years.

Paestum and the Villa Hadriana (the largest ancient villa site) are relatively well-known, as are the Hera finds on Samos and the bronzes from Olympia. (The large number of relics excavated at Olympia can be explained by the fact that when rebuilding the stadium old votive offerings were concealed in wells and holes because of lack of space.)

But archaeology is progressing more and more from the time of classical antiquity to the period of early history. In Egypt Cleopatra's temple at Kalabsha was resited as part of the Nubian rescue operation, but the discovery of frescoes from the grave of Intef (approx 2000 BC) was basically more spectacular.

The vivid but by no means monumental frescoes portray a siege: the attackers are climbing up ladders and corpses are being thrown over the city walls. Hattusa, the capital of the Hittites in the Anatolian uplands, is being excavated: huge religious relics and storerooms dating from the second century have been unearthed.



Bas-relief of Darius at Bisutun, Iran, about 522 BC

(Photo: Katalog)

Today the Tower of Babylon is an island of sun-dried brick, 26 feet high; once it must have been a broadly-based, terraced structure, like the building which can still be seen in Uruk, covered all over with coloured religious mosaics.

The modern archaeologist does not simply set to work with a spade. Air photographs survey the landscape, while photograms reveal things which the eye cannot perceive. The figure drawings on the Lycean cave graves depicted on the uneven, weatherbeaten rockface are reduced to two-dimensional proportions by photograms and can hence be recognised. And in order to explore the small Asiatic port of Kyme the archaeologist needs to be a skilled diver.

In this country the Commission for Ancient History and Epigraphy investigates old writings. The latest find included in the exhibition, which caused a great stir and was only discovered on 12 February this year, is the heap of fragments (the "Ostrake") on which the name of Pericles appears. If they wanted to, Athenians could ostracise someone each year. At least six thousand votes had to be cast from a population of about forty thousand. Each voter wrote or scratched the name of the politician he wanted to be banished on a brick fragment. The person who received the most votes was duly exiled.

Because of the frequency with which the name of Themistocles recurs it is now known that both before and after the battle of Salamis (480 BC) the vote must have been very close every year as far as Themistocles was concerned until finally the saviour of Athens was in fact banished.

The fragments also provide information on the — pretty poor — knowledge of orthography and the mentality of the people. One voter wrote mockingly, "the beautiful Glaukos," and another, "the Persian traitor," and yet another, "I ostracise hunger."

Archaeological finds from this country predominate at the exhibition because there was no need to be stingy with originals in this instance. The Roman-Germanic Commission is excavating a Celtic town at Manching on the Danube, the first to be discovered in Central Europe.

Coloured glass armbands have been unearthed, rare figurative bronze jewellery and the only known Celtic sculpture in iron, a horse's head. Gold scales, minting blanks for gold dust and coins minted in the town reveal something of the Celtic civilisation. And broken weapons, shattered skeletons and hidden valuables indicate the sudden catastrophe of an attack by the Romans.

The Romans did not fare much better; they had to hide their precious silverware from the Alemans; a large delivery of newly manufactured weapons and chains evidently arrived too late to save the town and perished with it. Now there is evidence, side by side, of the last hurried attempts by the Celts and Romans to bury their valuables for better times.

The main objective of the Roman-Germanic Commission is to systematically investigate Limes and the results of research have been published in the series *Limesforschungen* and *Römisch-Germanischen Forschungen* and in the periodical *Germania*.

Celts, Romans, migrations — this country's history is contained in the earth, and Kurt Bittel comments, "Archaeology should really extend to yesterday." It is only a convention that archaeology ends with the Middle Ages because from then on written documents provide information on everyday life.

The exhibition devotes one room to publications of the Federal Republic Archaeological Institute. They are complemented by pictures and original letters of famous members and this ancestral parade brings to life German intellectual history: Goethe and Schinkel, Humboldt and A. W. Schlegel, Schliemann and Kekulé, Niebuhr, Ranke and Mommsen are all featured. And also Prince Metternich.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 March 1969)

War on snails aimed at exterminating bilharziasis in Egypt

Hannoversche Presse

With the aid of Federal Republic doctors, chemists and scientists a determined campaign against bilharziasis has been launched in Egypt. During the time of the pharaohs this disease was regarded as a plague.

A large proportion of Egypt's population is threatened by this terrible disease. It is estimated that 150 million people throughout the world suffer from it. In Egypt alone it causes an annual loss of production worth 735 million Marks.

Bilharziasis is a disease which occurs in warm climates and is caused by flatworms, three-quarters of an inch long, of the bilharzia variety. These worms mainly penetrate the veins of the bladder, the sexual organs and the bowels, causing haematuria which often leads to an early death.

A certain type of water-snail acts as the intermediary host for the eggs, which are laid in the tissue, and later for the larvae of these parasites, and the larvae develop inside the snails. Then if they subsequently come into contact with humans the parasites penetrate the skin and reach the hepatic vessels via the bloodstream, where they grow and finally settle in the urinary tract.

As part of a joint Federal Republic-Egyptian project experiments are to be carried out at Fayum, south-west of Cairo, aimed at eliminating the disease agent. The disease which occurs frequently amongst the rural population is usually due to inadequate hygiene on the part of peasants who are constantly in contact with dirty, infected sewage from the canals.

Experts say that approximately twenty million people suffer from bilharziasis in the Middle East. The campaign to destroy the bilharziasis snail, which it is hoped will be successfully completed in three years time, began with the arrival of almost a hundred tons of Bayluscid, an exterminator produced in this country.

In 1852 the German tropical doctor Theodor Bilharz discovered the agent of the disease which is named after him. Dr Bilharz who for ten years was anatomy professor at the Cairo medical faculty died in Cairo in 1862 and was buried in the German cemetry in the city.

(Hannoversche Presse, 21 March 1969)

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

New tracking station to beam Munich Olympics worldwide

Starting this summer the Bundespost will be cocking a second giant ear at space. The second communications satellite tracking station at Raisting, thirty miles from Munich, is shortly to be taken into service.

It and the facilities of Munich's TV tower are the Federal Republic postal service's action stations for the 1972 Olympics. This country's tallest TV tower to date and the Raisting satellite tracking station will transmit the thrills and spills of the Olympic Games all over the world.

The Bundespost has provided fascinating on-the-spot insight into the technical difficulties of dealing with telecommunications satellites. The 94-foot diameter bowl of the second Raisting aerial is eleven and a half feet larger than the first and looks altogether different.

The spherical plastic cover of the first aerial is missing from the second. Unencumbered by radomes the big brother is open to the sky and the elements. Should winter frost or ice hamper reception the 664 aluminium segments of the aerial will be electrically heated. In effect Raisting II is one of the largest electric fires in Bavaria.

This costly contruction, so engineers at Bundespost telecommunications technology headquarters in Darmstadt believe, is the best way of ensuring maximum-quality reception of satellite signals. In rainy weather the radome (radar dome) covered first aerial has not always delivered the goods. Extremely weak signals are on occasion reflected by the wet, mirror-like surface of the protective covering, effectively blocking reception.

The power of satellite signals is unimaginably weak — half a billionth of a watt or 0.000000000002 watts.

With the aid of a loudspeaker kept at a temperature of -269 degrees centigrade, only four degrees above absolute zero, by means of liquid helium the feeble signals are registered and conveyed to the actual receiver. The cold makes as great a difference as possible between the signals, a telephone call or television transmission, and the inevitable interference.

The new unit, the aerial of which alone weighs 350 tons, is for the time being to be used to transmit communications across the Atlantic. The Bundespost already has direct links with transmitters at Etam in the United States, Longovilo in Chile and Tangua in Brazil.

The link in all these operations in Intelsat III F 2, a representative of the third generation of telecommunications satellites.

Their first legendary forerunner in space was Early Bird but unlike Early Bird the latest variety orbit the Earth in 24 hours, appearing to remain stationary above one location at a height of 23,000 miles.

Although the satellites only seem to stand still their orbits are continually checked by computer and the position of aerials is imperceptibly altered. At this distance even minute deviations from the estimated direction of reception can result in considerable interference.

As an example of the accuracy required post office engineers compared the necessary performance with the reception of lights rays emitted by a one-watt bulb 560 miles away. The new Raisting aerial, it is claimed, is this accurate.

The gigantic telecommunications ear is costing the postal authorities 28 million Marks and is unlikely to pay for itself in the foreseeable future.

The Bundespost transmits phone calls by communications satellite even though this may be more expensive than by conventional means. Subscribers in this country who dial USA are already frequently hooked up via satellite. The connection is made fully automatically.

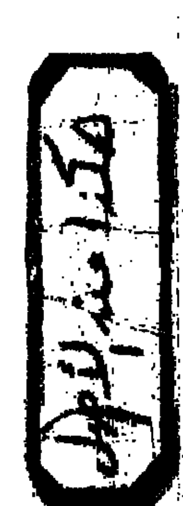
Telephone calls are sent through space whenever the cables are operating at full capacity. Frankfurt is invariably one of the hubs of this worldwide network. Frankfurters are connected with the United States by operators in the post office skyscraper not far from the city centre.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 26 March 1969)

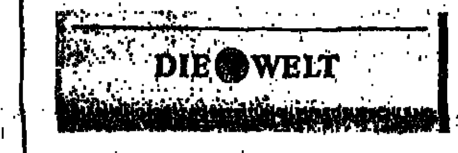


Siemens Munich R & D centre, the largest telecommunications research facility in Europe, is not often the scene of such apparently idyllic goings-on. The research assistant on the left, who might be sitting in a record booth listening to the latest Beatles' waxing, is in fact wearing special headphones to protect her eardrums from the noise generated by components undergoing breaking-strain tests at up to 10,000 cycles a minute on the oil-cooled oscillation table in front of her. Tests such as these, which subject components to strains of up to 100 times the force of gravity, are essential to ensure that telecommunications components and prototypes, some of which may well be destined for use in communications satellites, are able to withstand the pressures and strains they may encounter during their working-life. The oscillator works along the lines of a gigantic loudspeaker.

(Photo: Siemens)



Optical glass fibre cables for dashboard lights check



Optical glass fibre arranged in cable fashion will soon provide motorists with a continual opportunity of checking, while at the wheel, whether or not headlights reversing lights, brake lights and indicators are functioning properly.

To check whether the tail lights are on a driver has, at the moment, to get out and look. To test the brake lights he even needs a co-driver or the mirror effect of a shop window. He certainly has no opportunity of checking whether all the lights are shipshape and Bristol fashion while actually driving the car.

With the aid of the optical glass cables developed by Jenaer Glaswerk Schott & Gen. of Mainz motorists can now see at a glance from the driver's seat how every single light is performing.

The cables, which consist of fifty to 200 hair-thin glass fibres, are connected to the lights. They register not the electric current but the light from the bulb and reflector. This light falls on the polished, uncovered cable end and is carried, round corners and all, to the dashboard.

So drivers will soon be able to read off a dashboard dial the light intensity of exterior lights all round their vehicles and this direct link will indirectly represent a tremendous improvement in road safety.

The cable will also make possible the illumination of glove compartment, ashtray, cigarette lighter, ignition and dashboard controls by a single light source.

To protect the glass fibre from damage the cables are sheathed in PVC. They look like electric cables and can be worked with just as easily as a length of wire.

(DIE WELT, [illegible] March 1969)

ENVIRONMENT

Vertical take-off jets underestimated as answer to problems of aircraft noise

The growing volume of aircraft noise hangs over all our heads, not to mention nerves, like a sword of Damocles. Federal and state transport authorities forecast a fourfold increase in the number of flight movements over the next ten years and legislative action is to be taken to limit noise levels, particularly in the vicinity of airports.

Among the parties concerned, the airport authorities, airlines and nearby residents, there are differences of opinion as to the measures necessary. Above all no one seems to be clear what is to be termed noise and what intolerable noise.

Disagreement and misunderstanding were also the order of the day at the Wiesbaden third conference on aircraft noise jointly sponsored by the Noise Abatement Group and the Aircraft Noise Association.

The arguments of lawyers and technicians appear to have nothing in common. This is less likely to be the result of technicians harbouring illusions about the possibilities of implementing noise abatement regulations than it is to be a consequence of insufficient awareness on the lawyers' part of the technological and medical criteria.

Munich physicist Professor Werner Bürck put the point with unusual clarity in a paper on Aircraft Noise from the Viewpoints of Man and Technology. Noise, he stated, has not only a physical effect but also an information content. It activates Man's mental circuits and memory storage units and gives rise to subjective emotional responses that differ from individual to individual.

As an example Professor Bürck cited the case of a military airfield built between two villages. The runways were at an equal distance and angle to the two villages but the airfield could only be reached from the one.

As time went by 3,000 personnel moved to the one village, which went from strength to strength, while the other village on the far side of the airstrip looked on enviously.

This unequal treatment, as it were, was the basic reason why complaints about the noise of jets taking off and landing made by people from the village that had not benefited were so vociferous that the case eventually went before the highest authorities in Bonn.

The level of perceived noise in both villages was exactly the same but for the one, which lived with the noise, it was

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music in the villagers' ears whereas for the other it represented an intolerable nuisance.

Consequently, Professor Burck stressed, the only valid criterion in judging aircraft noise and its effects must be exact measurements in large numbers. As even these measurements differ, statistical mean levels must be assessed.

Viewed objectively, the mean continuous sound level, taking into account as it does not only the number but also the duration of sounds, would appear to be a suitable basis for assessment.

Hearing varies according to age and profession. Where noise is concerned there is no such thing as the average person. Commentators who persist in describing noise in terms of black and white would do well to bear this in mind.

Düsseldorf physicist and audiologist Professor Franz-Josef Meister dealt with psycho-physical factors that are often overlooked in his paper on the Comparability of Aircraft and Road Traffic Noise.

Many people tend to forget that during the daytime the maximum level of aircraft noise is little more than the noise of traffic on a busy road or railway line. At night, of course, the situation is not quite the same.

Professor Meister's principal demand was for a subtler approach to the individual noise offenders and offended. The high pitch of jet engine noise is nonetheless already causing alarm in medical circles.

The most effective way of combating noise — silencing it at source — is not out of the question even with jet engines, as engineers Scholten and Flemming of Dornier noted. Rolls Royce, they reported, are working on a lift fan engine that runs more quietly than all conventional turbines even when the engines are going flat out.

In the new Dornier Do 31 vertical take-off jet the latest Rolls Royce engine would cut the maximum sound-level at a distance of one kilometre from 105 to 90 decibels, or nearly a third.

Specialists reckon that the vertical take-off jet has a great future as a quiet aircraft, so much so that it deserves greater consideration than it is getting. This view is shared by Dr O. Bschorr of Entwicklungsring Süd, Munich, who dealt with the noise potential of the VJ 101 C X, the world's first successful VTOL jet and an aircraft developed in this country.

In the case of both aircraft, which only on the face of it appear to be competitors, aircraft noise is largely limited to the take-off area, only 45 metres square, and the immediate vicinity. The infernal noise of the jets affects only the aircraft itself, unless the latest work of a Munich research laboratory involved in experiments to determine the sound-resistance of materials is taken into account.

Here again it is clear that engineers and technicians will be able to solve present and future noise problems provided only that the other parties involved in decision-making appreciate and utilise research developments.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 24 March 1969)